



Daily Report

East Europe

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Romania 'Obstacle' to CSCE Progress
AU161157 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German
14-15 Nov 87 p 2

[Excerpt] Vienna—During the past few days of negotiations, Romania has proved to be a special obstacle to CSCE progress in Vienna. The situation in the editorial group dealing with human rights matters continues at its bleakest. Eastern representatives always lead their Western and neutral negotiating partners to believe that they are ready to accept several points of an Austrian-Swiss compromise document. Then, however, they always refer to Romania, which blocks their willingness to compromise.

So far, the Romanians have successfully prevented concrete time limits being mentioned in connection with the solution of humanitarian cases of hardship between East and West, for example. Lately they even demanded the cancellation of definite time limits in the texts on human contacts.

Comment by Ambassador Ekkehard Eickhoff, head of the West German delegation: "This would clearly be a step backward." And: "It constitutes—to put it mildly—bad style when the acceptance of such texts is seriously considered, the essential statements are removed in the presence of all of us afterwards, and finally the scanty remainder is even presented to us as a generous offer."
[passage omitted]

Greek Ministers Visit, Sign Agreements

Alia Receives Papoulias, Leaders

*AU182008 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 18 Nov 87*

[Text] Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly, received in the Palace of Brigades this afternoon Karolos Papoulias, foreign minister, and other members of the Greek Government: Melina Merkouri, minister for culture and science; Evangelos Koulumbis, minister of the environment and public works; Panayiotis Roumeliotis, minister of commerce; and Konstandinos Yeoryiou, general secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Also present at the reception were Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs; Sihati Tozaj, secretary to the Presidium of the People's Assembly; Vitoria Curi, vice chairman of the People's Assembly; and Professor Sofokli Lazri, director of the Institute for the Study of International Relations.

Also present were Ksenofon Nushi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Athens, and Spiridhon Dokiados, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Greece in Tirana.

Comrade Ramiz Alia conducted a cordial and friendly conversation with our Greek friends. Your arrival in Albania, he said to Karolos Papoulias and other members of the Greek Government, is an important event in the relations between our two countries. It is a pleasure, he said, to observe that recently goodwill and joint efforts have led to advances in the relations between Albania and Greece, and we are convinced that they will further advance.

Talking about the ties between the Albanian and Greek peoples, Comrade Ramiz Alia remarked that both our centuries-old peoples have always been united in close friendship with each other, and that the history of their common struggles for freedom and independence, aspirations for progress and democracy, have united them and created a greater friendship between them.

Comrade Ramiz Alia later stressed that a Greek minority exists in Greece, which enjoys all rights and freedoms in the same way as all the Albanian people, without any distinction. This minority is a factor for friendship between our two peoples. We consider the members of the minority as our brothers. Albanians and members of the minority have fought together for freedom and social progress. The policy of the party and the government toward the minority, Comrade Ramiz Alia stressed, was defined in the people's revolution and the teachings of Comrade Enver Hoxha, and stems from our convictions and our world view.

For his part, Karolos Papoulias, expressed his appreciation of the cordial reception extended to him and the atmosphere of friendship and respect shown by the Albanian people for the Greek people. He conveyed to Comrade Ramiz Alia the greetings of Khristo Sartzetakis, president of the Republic of Greece, and Andreas Papandreou, the prime minister. Your warm words, he said, and your assessment of the minority greatly moved us. It is true that the Greek minority won a victory alongside the Albanian people and their independent state. Hundreds of the minority fallen in the war are in the pantheon of martyrs of the Albanian people. Their struggle was inspired by the struggle of the Albanian people. The assessment you made encourages us to advance and strengthen the relations of friendship and cooperation which exist between our two countries and peoples.

Comrade Ramiz Alia remarked that the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Albanian people will in the future also work to develop and deepen relations of friendship and cooperation in areas of common interest. He then spoke about various aspects of today's international situation, the state of the Balkans, and our country's relations with neighboring countries. Comrade Ramiz emphasized that Albania will as always pursue its policy of good-neighborliness with all states of the region, convinced that this serves the interests of its freedom and independence, and peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe, and beyond.

Comrade Ramiz Alia conveyed to Karolos Papoulias and the persons accompanying him his greetings to Khristo Sartzetakis, president of the Republic of Greece, and to Andreas Papandreou, the prime minister.

The reception passed in a cordial atmosphere.

Carcani Receives Papoulias

*AU182050 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 18 Nov 87*

[Text] Comrade Adil Carcani, chairman of the Council of Ministers of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania, received Karolos Papoulias, foreign minister, and other members of the Greek Government: Melina Merkouri, minister of culture and science; Evangelos Koulumbis, minister of the environment and public works; Panayiotis Roumeliotis, minister of commerce; and Konstandinos Yeoryiou, general secretary at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, at the seat of the Council of Ministers this morning.

Also present were Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; Gjon Gorishti, general secretary to the Council of Ministers; Alfred Uci, chairman of the Committee for Culture and Arts; and Muhamet Kapllani, vice minister of foreign affairs.

Also present were Ksenofon Nushi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Athens, and Spiridhon Dokiados, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Greece in Tirana.

Comrade Adil Carcani, after expressing his pleasure at the visit to Albania of Karolos Papoulias, other members of the Government, and other high officials of the Republic of Greece, said that this visit will contribute to the further development of the traditional friendly relations between our two friendly countries and peoples. This is in the interests not only of our two neighboring peoples, but also of peace and security in the Balkans and beyond. Comrade Adil Carcani welcomed the recent decision to revoke the state of war as an act of goodwill and political realism.

He asked the Greek foreign minister to convey to Andreas Papandreou, the prime minister, his warm greetings, and an invitation to pay an official and friendly visit to Albania at a time which suits him.

Karolos Papoulias, after expressing thanks for his warm and friendly reception, said that the Greek Government is determined to further develop the relations of friendship and cooperation between our two countries. He conveyed to Comrade Adil Carcani greetings from Andreas Papandreou, the prime minister, and delivered a message from him. In this message the Greek prime minister expressed the conviction that the talks conducted by Karolos Papoulias with his Albanian counterpart and with other representatives of the Albanian Government will be exceptionally fruitful, and will contribute still further to the smooth development of relations of cooperation between our countries, as desired by both sides. Andreas Papandreou invited Comrade Adil Carcani to pay an official visit to Greece, in this way creating the opportunity to expand bilateral relations, and prospects for strengthening cooperation. He asked Comrade Adil Carcani to convey his warmest greetings to Comrade Ramiz Alia, AWP Central Committee first secretary and president of the Presidium of the People's Assembly.

At this reception, which passed in a warm and friendly atmosphere, views were exchanged concerning the further development of relations and cooperation in the fields of the economy, trade, culture, art, science, transport, and so forth.

Cooperation Agreement Signed

*AU182102 Tirana Domestic Service in Albanian
1900 GMT 18 Nov 87*

[Text] At the Ministry of Foreign Affairs this morning an agreement was signed for economic, industrial, technological, and scientific cooperation between the Government of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania and the Government of the Republic of Greece for a 5-year period.

Participating in the signing ceremony were Besnik Bekteshi, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers; Niko Gjyzari, chairman of the State Planning Commission; Shane Korbeci, minister of foreign trade; Ajet Ylli, chairman of the Committee for Science and Technology, and officials of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and other ministries.

For the Albanian side the agreement was signed by Reis Malile, minister of foreign affairs, and for the Greek side by Karolos Papoulias, minister of foreign affairs.

Among other things, this agreement anticipates cooperation and the exchange of experience of achievements in the fields of industry, agriculture, construction, and the communal economy.

Alfred Uci, the chairman of the Committee for Culture and Art, and Melina Merkouri, minister of culture and science, also signed an additional program for cultural activities between our two countries for 1988.

A 4-year agreement between the two governments for cooperation in the field of health was signed by Ahmet Kamberi, minister of health, and Konstandinos (Farmakis), general secretary to the Greek Ministry of Health.

Also present at the ceremony were Ksenofon Nushi, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the People's Socialist Republic of Albania in Athens, and Spiridhon Dokiados, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Republic of Greece in Tirana.

Report From Athens

*NC182035 Athens Domestic Service in Greek
1900 GMT 18 Nov 87*

[Text] Foreign Minister Karolos Papoulias, who is on an official visit to Albania, today gave Adil Carcani, chairman of the Albanian Council of Ministers, a written message from Prime Minister Andreas Papandreou. Papoulias also delivered an invitation from the Greek prime minister to his Albanian counterpart asking him to visit Athens. At the same time, Carcani invited Papandreou to visit Tirana next year.

At 1100 today Carcani received the members of the Greek delegation, which is on an official visit to the friendly country, at the governor's palace in Tirana's central square. Carcani and Papoulias exchanged cordial speeches, in which they underlined the fact that Greek-Albanian relations have entered on the road of speedy development, to the benefit of the two countries and their peoples, as well as to the benefit of calm and peace in the Balkans and beyond. At noon an outline agreement on bilateral economic and trade cooperation was signed at the Albanian Foreign Ministry by Papoulias and Albanian Foreign Minister Reis Malile. Other specific agreements were also signed.

In the meantime, Commerce Minister Panayiotis Roumeliotis reached agreement with his Albanian counterpart on the signing of a protocol for the promotion of trade between the two countries. The protocol stresses the promotion of direct across-the-border trade. This will benefit the Greek minority in Albania as well.

For her part, Culture Minister Melina Merkouri signed a new cooperation agreement to increase and to qualitatively upgrade bilateral cultural relations. This will also mainly concern the Greek minority.

Farmakis, secretary general of the Ministry of Health and Welfare, signed an agreement on cooperation in the field of health and medicines.

Evangelos Kouloumbis, minister of environment, town planning, and public works reached an accord with Albanian officials on bilateral cooperation in environmental protection. He also had talks on the construction of public works in Albania, a topic of interest to Greece.

Report on Visit by FRG's Strauss

DW181957 Munich SUEDEUTSCHE ZEITUNG
in German 17 Nov p 1

[Carl E. Buchalla article: "Strauss as 'Old Friend' in Albania"]

[Text] Franz-Josef Strauss, Bavaria's Minister President and CSU Chairman, was received as "an old friend of Albania" on Monday in Tirana by government and party head Ramiz Alia for a talk that lasted more than 1 hour. Strauss, who was the first FRG politician to visit Albania's government as an official guest in May 1986 and as a "tourist" already in August 1984, was strongly in support of Bonn entering into diplomatic relations with Tirana. This time he came as a guest of the government: 6 weeks following the establishment of diplomatic relations and only 3 weeks following FRG Foreign Minister Genscher's 10-hour visit to Tirana. With a private plane, Strauss landed at Tirana airport on Sunday afternoon. The FRG's new charge d'affaires in Albania, embassy counselor Werner Daum, had officially opened Bonn's embassy in Tirana's hotel Daiti just 4 hours previously. There will be a Tirana ambassador no sooner than by mid-1988, when the embassy buildings, which are under construction, are finished.

Shortly after his arrival, Strauss had a first talk with Council of Ministers Chairman Adil Carcani, who hosted a dinner for his guest subsequently. During the dinner, Siegfried Lengel, Parliamentary State Secretary in the FRG Ministry for Economic Cooperation delivered an "authorization of disposal" for DM6 million. Albania can dispose of that amount according to its own judgement without repayment of capital—with the exception of weapons purchases and police material.

Following his talk with state and party head Ramiz Alia, Strauss stated that, following the establishment of diplomatic relations, Albania expects Bonn to actively support solving three major issues—modernizing its agriculture, locating and yielding its mineral resources, particularly bromine, copper, and nickel, as well as modernizing its transportation system. He said that the Germans are considering participation in building a hydroelectric power station in Albania by means of forming a syndicate consisting of the Siemens, Voigt, and Rhein-Main-Donau-Kanal companies.

One of the major problems for future economic relations is the fact that the Albanian constitution prohibits to raise foreign credits—to prevent the country from getting under foreign influences. According to Strauss, the "supreme principle" in Albanian politics of maintaining the all-out freedom against foreign influences became very clear during his talk with Ramiz Alia. To solve the problem, Strauss has the idea of "financing through the price" instead of granting formal credits, as has been done in the economic relations between Bonn and Beijing.

When discussing Albania's foreign relations, Alia had stressed the good development of the relations with Italy and Greece whose foreign minister Papoulias will come to Tirana for his first official visit on Tuesday, said Strauss. Alia was concerned over the development in Yugoslavia, particularly over the limitation of the rights that the inhabitants of the Serb province of Kosovo have, which are mainly Albanians, Strauss said. He added that Alia emphasized that Albania has neither territorial requirements against Yugoslavia, nor that it is interested in a "destabilization" of the neighboring multi-racial state. Before his talks with Strauss, Ramiz Alia had stressed to *Sueddeutsche Zeitung's* correspondent that Albania wished good relations with all of its neighbors, not only with Greece, but with Yugoslavia as well. "However, good relations are not a matter of just one side, they require the preparedness of both sides."

An Albanian government delegation will travel to Bonn in mid-December to discuss definite points of cooperation, now that diplomatic relations have been established.

Zhivkov Meets USSR Marshal Kulikov

AU181746 Sofia BTA in English 1646 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Text] Sofia, Nov 18 (BTA)—Mr Todor Zhivkov, secretary general of the CC of the BCP and president of the State Council, received today the commander in chief of the Allied Armed Forces of the Warsaw Treaty member-states, Marshal Viktor Kulikov.

The cordial discussion centered on issues of common interest. It was attended by Army General Dobri Dzhurov, member of the Politburo of the BCP CC and minister of defense of Bulgaria.

Atanasov Meets USSR Maritime Minister

AU182000 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian 1830 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Text] On 18 November Comrade Georgi Atanasov received Yuriy Volmer, USSR minister of the maritime fleet. During their talk, they discussed the further strengthening and developing of relations in maritime transportation through which a major part of the shipments between Bulgaria and the USSR is taking place. A special attention was devoted to applying modern technologies and improving the production processes. They stressed the necessity of improving the activity of the existing transportation-technological systems and creating new such systems.

Leaders Receive Spain's Iglesias

AU181915 Sofia BTA in English 1819 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Text] Sofia, Nov 18 (BTA)—Mr Chudomir Aleksandrov, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, and Mr Milko Balev, member of the Politburo and secretary of the CC of the BCP, meet today with Mr Gerardo Iglesias, secretary general of Spain's Communist Party, who is on a brief working visit to this country.

The sides exchanged information on the activity of the two parties and discussed questions of the international situation and the struggle of the Communists for peace and social progress. Both sides assessed highly the celebrations in Moscow on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and especially the fruitful and constructive discussion at the meeting of representatives of the parties and movements who attended the celebrations.

The Bulgarian side expressed support to the efforts of the Spanish Communist Party for uniting of the Spanish Communists. The talk confirmed the mutual desire for further development of the traditional relations of friendship and solidarity between the Bulgarian Communist Party and the Communist Party of Spain.

Bulgarian-Spanish Foreign Ministry Talks

AU182014 Sofia BTA in English 1857 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Text] Madrid, Nov 18 (BTA corr.)—Political consultation between Bulgaria's and Spain's Ministries of Foreign Affairs were held on November 17 and November 18. The Bulgarian delegation was led by Mr Lyuben Gotsev, deputy minister of foreign affairs, and the Spanish—by Mr Fermin Celada, general director for European foreign policy.

The two sides made a detailed review of the condition and prospects of the bilateral contacts and exchanged opinions on topical international issues.

The two sides assessed positively the Bulgaro-Spanish relations after the official visit to Spain of Bulgaria's Foreign Minister Mr Petur Mladenov and discussed the opportunities for all-round development of the political dialogue, for widening and deepening of the bilateral cooperation in the trade, economic, techno-scientific and cultural spheres.

Discussing the international situation the two sides paid special attention to the problems of peace and security in Europe, the Mediterranean, and the world.

The two sides greet the forthcoming signing of an agreement for elimination of the medium- and shorter range nuclear missiles and think that it will have favorable effect on the process of nuclear disarmament, as well as on the overall political climate in the European Continent. Opinions on other international issues were also exchanged.

The Bulgarian delegation briefed its colleagues on Bulgaria's policy in the Balkans and especially on the problem of establishing of new zones, free of nuclear and chemical weapons, and on the bilateral and multilateral cooperation between the Balkan states.

Deputy Minister Lyuben Gotsev was received by Mr Francisco Fernandez-Ordonez, minister of foreign affairs of Spain. Mr Lyuben Gotsev had a meeting with Mr Manuel Martinez, chairman of the Interparliamentary Union and spokesman for the PSOE [Spanish Socialist Workers Party] on foreign policy in the Congress of Deputies.

FRG's Bangemann on Economic Cooperation

AU191156 Sofia TRUD in Bulgarian 18 Nov 87

[Report by Khristo Zhelyazkov of *Sofia Press* on his interview with Dr Martin Bangemann, minister of economics for the FRG: "A Model That May Also Be of Interest to Other Countries"—place and date not given; Quotation marks as published]

[Text] We have achieved a quite radical change in the quality of our economic relations, stated Dr Martin Bangemann, minister of economics of the FRG, regarding the eleventh session of the Joint Commission for Economic, Industrial, and Technical Cooperation Between Bulgaria and the FRG that has just ended.

The previous sessions, continued the minister, were concerned with the possibilities for improving the exchange of goods and services, that is, with the traditional forms and methods of economic cooperation. This time we tried to expand the field of cooperation by implementing production sharing between our enterprises and yours and by setting up joint firms that are to engage not only in import and export, but also in production, carrying out research, creating new products, and entering markets.

There is no doubt, Minister Bangemann stressed, that this progress is a direct consequence of the visit to the FRG of Todor Zhivkov, the Bulgarian head of state. During that visit we agreed that I should meet this summer in Varna with my colleague, Trade Minister Christo Khristov, and this meeting did in fact take place. We both drew up a memorandum that sets the main directions for the intensive development of economic cooperation, namely industrial production sharing, joint enterprises, training of specialists in economics, cooperation between scientific economic institutes, greater joint capital investment, and the exchange of economic experts.

In the interim this memorandum has been supplemented by both sides. The Bulgarian side put forward 12 specific cooperation projects with West German firms that we will investigate and report on to the interested parties. On our own side, I made a number of proposals for cooperation, including in the field of nuclear electric power production, which opens up interesting prospects both from the technological aspect and in relation to energy policy.

[Zhelzyazkov] "To what extent, Mr Federal Minister, have the bilateral agreements that have been signed for protection of investments, avoiding double taxation, and creating duty-free zones in Bulgaria contributed to the progress?"

[Bangemann] "The legal preconditions for investigating the terms for founding joint enterprises have substantially improved as a result of the normative documents, which are very important. This particularly relates to our small and medium-sized enterprises, which have to make a preliminary assessment in great depth of the chances and the risks, because while a large enterprise may permit itself to sometimes make mistakes, the same is not true of the medium-sized and small ones. These must succeed, and therefore they have to study the investment terms very carefully.

"We will also investigate the possibilities offered by the duty-free zones. We will study the conditions for creating a consultative association of enterprises, primarily small and medium-sized ones, that wish to take part in industrial production sharing."

When asked what 1987 would be remembered for in Bulgarian-West German economic cooperation, Minister Bangemann replied:

"We have climbed one step higher. I consider that we have made progress in creating a model that may also be of interest to other countries, and one that is also of political value. We are coming to the end of a year in which the dialogue between East and West has been extremely positive, especially in the field of disarmament, and Todor Zhivkov, your head of state, has made decisive contributions to furthering this dialogue. I believe that this dialogue will continue in the future to exert an effect on economics."

In conclusion, Minister Bangemann also stated his position regarding trade in services, which covers banking, insurance, domestic and international tourism, medical services, transportation and other activities that play an important role in the further development of our bilateral economic cooperation.

Electronics Protocol Signed With France

AU181619 Sofia BTA in English 1552 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Text] Sofia, Nov 18 (BTA)—The Fifth Session of the Joint Group on Electronics, Informatics and Telecommunications with the Bulgaro-French Committee for Economic, Industrial and Technological Cooperation ended here with the signing of a protocol.

The documents, adopted by the Elektronika Association and France's Ministry of Industry, Posts and Tourism, envisages a broadening of the cooperation between Bulgarian organizations and French computer and communications companies and the joint production of electronic components and software products. The two sides will work for the setting up of direct contacts between Bulgarian and French producers in projects in electronics, informatics and telecommunications.

BCP's Yotov Interviewed on Socialism

AU181503 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish 16 Nov 87 p 5

[Interview with Yordan Yotov, BCP Politburo member and Central Committee secretary, by Zbigniew Klejn "for TRYBUNA LUDU": "Shaping a New Model of Socialism"—date and place not given]

[Text] [Klejn] Bulgaria is known for its adoption of new solutions and its experimental checking of their usefulness. How do you consider the experience gathered by your country during these experiments?

[Yotov] Socialism is a new social system, one which has emerged and is developing under exceptionally complex conditions. Because Marxist-Leninist teaching does not and cannot provide ready models and a prepared "plan" for socialist construction, nor can it give us ready

answers on how to solve the new problems that constantly emerge. That is why seeking new solutions and experimentation really is a feature of our party's activity, especially since the April 1956 BCP plenum which condemned the negative effects of the personality cult.

Already in the middle of the 1960's we started to work out a new system of planning and managing the national economy, and the resolutions of the July 1968 plenum stimulated the creation of an economic mechanism that has suited the situation until now. However, the BCP Central Committee plenums of July 1985 and January 1986 turned out to be particularly important for the process of reconstruction. They paved the way for the 13th party congress and this year's July plenum.

It is no exaggeration to say that this latest plenum will be of fundamental importance for the fortunes of our people and the history of the BCP. Its resolutions are closely connected with the April 1956 plenum, and form a continuation of this plenum and a development of the revolutionary renewal trends.

This year's July plenum has defined a new model of socialism for us, the roots of which lie in the major achievements during the period of socialist construction in our country and in the difficulties and unsolved problems we are still facing. Our model of socialism has not only taken root on Bulgarian soil. The shape of this model results from a sober assessment of the socialist community and from the situation within the international communist movement. More than that, it fully reflects the modern world with its numerous problems and trends, the development of the scientific-technological revolution, and current social progress.

An innovative approach has been a feature of our party ever since Dimitur Blagoev established its foundations. Building a new society is a practical test of the party's theoretical maturity and political wisdom in solving specific complex problems. And one cannot move forward without boldly applying new solutions, even without taking risks. The more our theory and the experience of fraternal countries and parties permeate our lives and the more accurately we analyze our own experience, the greater and better will be the results yielded by this risk. That is the general assessment one can make of the experience we have gathered during the revolutionary struggle and while building a socialist society.

[Klejn] The broad program of reconstruction covers every sphere of life and reaches deep into present structures. What do you think is most important about your activity?

[Yotov] Reconstruction as a transfer from the outdated phase of socialism to self-managing socialism is a basic truth of our social development. Such a transfer cannot be carried out by an elite; it must be done by the entire people. That is why the July plenum placed the problem of socialist democracy at the center of society's attention.

The essence of the new socialist model that has been adopted in Bulgaria is based on a new understanding of the place and meaning of socialist democracy and on recognition that self-management is a higher form of this democracy and is the best method and most powerful fulcrum of our society's construction and functioning.

The point here is the changes stemming from the basic principles of socialism and their wider and better application. I have in mind such principles as an enhancement of socialist democracy, increasing the responsibility of each member of society, the role of service toward social interests played by economics and politics, and a rational and humanitarian use of human ability and strength. All the changes we are presently beginning to implement are essentially geared toward "more socialism" and toward improving all work. They involve real concern for the success and value of human life.

Therefore, we are not concerned with improving the socialist democracy already in the country, but with attaining a higher and completely new level of its development. This need was clearly expressed in the documents of the July plenum by means of this formula: "Changing authority exercised on behalf of the people into authority exercised by the people."

One original Bulgarian concept is the principle of social-state management. How will this function under the new conditions?

[Yotov] Our people possess long, original, and profoundly democratic traditions in coordinating state and social management. The roots of these abide in the Turkish occupation, when the Bulgarians fought for social and national liberation. The traditions were expressed in the work of people's reading rooms, education, cultural organizations, and activity by amateurs, and then continued in the work of artists' unions and other unions. In 1984 Comrade Todor Zhivkov put forth the idea of social-state management over culture. This idea encountered broad support from society. The Culture Committee was formed as a social and at the same time state body responsible for managing all the country's cultural activity. The leaders of this committee are elected during cultural congresses.

This idea has also been reflected in education. The principle of social-state management has turned out to be a successful way for the broadest strata of artistic-creative intelligentsia and educational activists to take part in managing intellectual processes, and has yielded very good results.

Today, when we are expanding democracy more and more, we are not abandoning the coordination of state and non-state forms of management at all. On the contrary, they are assuming particular importance today, at a time when we are proceeding to self-management by society. By means of this self-management, our society

will feel more directly responsible for the development of democratism in all spheres of life and for the actual fruition of the principles of socialism.

There is no question that the principle of social-state management is also entering a qualitatively higher stage of development.

[Klejn] The traditional and constantly-developing cooperation between Poland and Bulgaria is yielding rich results in the economic sphere and all other spheres. What possibilities do you see of further enhancing this cooperation as far as the superstructure is concerned?

[Yotov] The BCP values comprehensive cooperation with the PZPR highly, and Bulgarian-Polish ties in various spheres of life are also traditionally fruitful. But we also know that today, when our countries are entering a new development stage, it is becoming essential to seek other forms and methods of multifaceted activity by our parties and peoples, including in culture, education, science, and ideology. I think it is particularly important here to help each other in a fraternal way and combine the intellectual potential of our peoples in order to solve the global problems of socialist life.

I think there are enormous possibilities of comprehensive joint research into and analysis of the political, economic, sociological, legal, cultural, and psychological aspects of reconstruction in our countries. For Bulgaria, and probably for Poland as well, it is becoming particularly important to discover in good time the logic of the changes taking place and gain a better knowledge of the reasons behind these changes and the problems they bring.

In a nutshell, we have an enormous plane of joint activity in seeking the best ways of enriching and developing socialist practice and of bringing the real socialism being built in our fraternal countries ever closer to the ideals inherited from the creators of our ideology.

[Klejn] The 60th anniversary of *Rabotnichesko Delo* and at the same time the 95th anniversary of your party's first press organ has just passed. How do you view the role of propaganda, including the mass media, in the process of restructuring?

[Yotov] Our party has played an enormous and invaluable role in organizing and implementing the socialist revolution in Bulgaria, in the party's ideological and organizational consolidation during the process of becoming the political vanguard of the working masses, and in the people's socialist upbringing.

The role of the press and of all mass media, as well as our entire propaganda, has been constantly increasing during restructuring, and they are now facing many responsible tasks. But I think it is most important to work in such a way as to transform old concepts about socialism in the minds of society. The Bulgarian socialist model adopted

at the July plenum is far different from the ideas that are deeply embedded. In fact, it refers to the ideas held by the creators of our new social science. The mass media have many possibilities of conducting open and honest dialogue with the people, shaping people's views, and conveying the knowledge and ability people need in order to take active part in society's new development. Therefore, the whole of propaganda is facing an exceptionally important task in mobilizing the people to eliminate all the potential and actual barriers to restructuring and consolidate what is new.

Rabotnichesko Delo, the "flagship" of our party press, is honorably continuing and developing the revolutionary positions and principles of Marxism-Leninism, acting as an energetic agitator and organizer of our party.

There is no doubt that in the future—in line with the enhancement and expansion of democracy and self-management—the press, radio, and television will play an even greater role in creating a social climate in which everyone may consider himself manager of his country, applying his strength and abilities for the sake of the victory of socialism.

Khristov Attends Stanke Dimitrov Meeting
AU182028 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 17 Nov 87 p 6

[Text] Kyustendil, 16 Nov (From our correspondent)—The Fifth Accountability-Election Conference of the Stanke Dimitrov Municipal BCP Organization was held today. Emil Khristov, secretary of the BCP Central Committee, and Lazar Prichkapov, first secretary of the Sofia Oblast BCP Committee, attended the meeting.

Kiril Kalyonski, first secretary of the Stanke Dimitrov Municipal BCP Committee, read a report, then followed with statements. Both the report and the statements pointed out positive aspects in the style and method of the party leaderships and organizations in implementing the decisions of the 13th BCP Congress and of the ensuing BCP Central Committee plenums. However, the existence of numerous shortcomings was also pointed out. Certain party and economic leaders are still not efficient enough in their work for the accelerated introduction of scientific-technical achievements. The work of the primary party organizations and plant party committees in consolidating the self-management organs in primary workers collectives is slow in implementing restructuring.

In his statement, Comrade Emil Khristov, dealt with the most topical issues and tasks determining restructuring and innovation in all spheres. He positively evaluated the efforts of workers collectives in overcoming difficulties and in successfully fulfilling the current plans.

Kiril Kalyonski was reelected first secretary of the Stanke Dimitrov Municipal BCP Committee at the committee's first plenum.

Ministry of Interior Holds Conference
AU191239 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 18 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] The accountability-election conference of the district party organization at the Ministry of Internal Affairs evaluated the varied work of the communists, including their party-organizational and ideological-educational work, applying high criteria to this evaluation.

The report and the ensuing statements confirmed that the employees of this ministry are contributing to the implementation of the decisions adopted at the 13th BCP Congress. The facts that were presented to the conference reflect positive results in connection with the protection of our national economy, and the struggle against the waste of resources, fires, and encroachments on socialist property.

As it was ascertained, the innovative processes in which our society is engaged, are favorably received and supported by all party members and by the entire collective of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. The delegates to the conference pointed out that there is still much to be done in connection with a high quality, responsible implementation of current tasks and that unused opportunities still exist in this respect.

Dimitur Stoyanov, in his speech, stressed that all activities of the Ministry of Internal Affairs organs must be coordinated with the concepts of further construction of the socialist society in our country, so that these organizations may be most actively involved in the restructuring process. He pointed out that the expansion of democracy in our country requires the strict observance of socialist law and order.

Aleksandur Emilov, first secretary of the Dimitrov Rayon BCP Committee in Sofia city, was elected first secretary of the BCP District Committee at the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

BCP Daily Calls for Self-Criticism
AU181731 Sofia RABOTNICHESKO DELO
in Bulgarian 17 Nov 87 p 1

[Editorial: "Discussion"]

[Text] The establishment of the self-management principles which are the essence and the supreme embodiment of socialist democracy, not only bring government closer to the individual, but assign him the role of the main character in state affairs. Self-management enhances public opinion and the people's will as important factors of the qualitatively new growth. In building the structures and the hierarchy of self-management today, every opinion, every proposal, and every new idea that contributes to a correct solution of problems is becoming both necessary and useful.

A dialogue merging into a free and constructive discussion is a permanently active, mass manifestation of self-management. Such a discussion involves hundreds and thousands of people in the process of explaining, discussing, and solving the urgent problems of society and of the collective. Such a discussion takes advantage of the people's political wisdom and of their great social experience, which serve as basic constructive elements in shaping the new model of socialism. Discussion makes it impossible for an institutionalized personal opinion to become the supreme authority on truth. Discussion is an irreplaceable instrument of transforming convictions and interests into socially involved motivations, and hence into energetic efforts devoted to restructuring.

BCP accountability-election meetings and conferences are excellent opportunities to train people to acquire a taste for discussion as an instrument of self-management and people's power, to inspire the workers collectives with the ideas and spirit of the BCP Central Committee July and November plenums. Restructuring in society exerts its impact upon the activities of the party organizations and leading bodies, and above all strengthens their striving for changes. This aspiration is visibly expressed in focusing attention—both in preparing accountability reports, resolutions, and elections, and in delivering statements—on important, topical problems, on the further expansion of internal party democracy, on the application of even higher political criteria in evaluating past achievements and determining future tasks.

Restructuring is accomplished within a scope and at a pace which are in accordance with the requirements of the present stage of development, but this does not apply to all places. If we analyze the reasons for this, we will discover that one of these reasons is the insufficiently active, flexible, varied, and topical leading work of certain party organizations, committees, and bureaus, which have not overcome their passivity and conservatism, which continue to wait for instructions and assistance, instead of showing more initiative. We should add the inability or unwillingness to involve all communists and the entire workers collective in elaborating documents and decisions, in specifying tasks, in selecting and promoting what are genuinely the most authoritative leaderships, and so forth.

At the annual meeting of the communists from the Stanke Dimitrov machine-tractor station, for example, disharmony appeared between the statements and the accountability report as regards shortcomings and unresolved problems. The statements of the rank and file communists set the tone of criticism and striving for change, while the party and administrative leaders rather pointed out the objective reasons for failures, instead of mentioning their own shortcomings and unfinished work.

We cannot evaluate any party organization whatsoever on the basis of one meeting or conference; however, debates greatly reveal the spirit of an organization, its

state, and its capacity to lead the collective along the path of progress, as well as the moral atmosphere in which the communists of a given organization are living. Discussion which neither begins nor ends with a conference is a path leading toward better acquaintance with the people, toward better knowledge about things, toward self-management. This is the path along which we must carry the fire of restructuring and not its ashes.

Press Conference on Energy Situation

*AU181254 Sofia Domestic Service in Bulgarian
1000 GMT 18 Nov 87*

[Report on press conference held by the Energetika association at the Fatherland Front National Council headquarters on 18 November]

[Excerpts] The main and only topic of the press conference was the following: Do the necessary conditions exist for a normal winter season in the energy sector?

Nikola Todoriev, chairman of the Energetika association stated as follows: There is no reason to be afraid of possible dramatic developments. All repairs of energy-production plants have been completed, and there are sufficient resources of fuel for the central and local heating installations. The commissioning of the 1000-Megawatt reactor in the Kozloduy nuclear power station is imminent.

Nevertheless, although there are no reasons for dramatic concern, I must stress that we must be extremely careful in dealing with the power supply system. Why is this so?

The energy consumption limits generally set for the month of October were exceeded by 13 percent. This is too much, and we must be aware of the fact that part of the reserves provided for unexpected, additional power expenditures have already been used.

The same situation continued throughout the first 15 days of November. The chief "credit" in this respect was earned by Gabrovo, Veliko Turnovo, and Blagoevgrad, which exceeded the electric power provided for them by 20 percent. The same failures apply to Lovech, Sofia city, Sofia oblast, and [word indistinct]. This shows a negative trend of increasing consumption of electric power in private homes especially at peak times. [passage omitted]

The cold winter months of the year that have elapsed, however, do not show that we are thinking more about economics. We have increased the use of electric power by 11 percent compared with 1987. Compared with the average consumption in Europe this increase is no more than 3 percent. This means that no one will help us, if we do not help ourselves. This is so because the energy system, as we stated today, will endure this year, but it will be working beyond the limit of its potential. We must be thrifty in all wages in order to avoid unnecessary consumption.

Correction To Mladenov-Dizdarevic Talks

The following correction pertains to the item headlined "BTA Reports Mladenov Visit to SFRY: Talks With Dizdarevic" published in the Bulgaria section of the 17 November Eastern Europe *Daily Report*, page B-7, paragraph one, line one: [Text] Belgrade, Nov 16 (BTA) — At the building of the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs, started the official talks between Bulgaria's foreign minister, who arrived on an official visit here, and Mr. Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs of Yugoslavia. The two sides reviewed the condition of Bulgaro-Yugoslavian relations and expressed mutual desire for their development in all spheres of mutual interest. The talks are held in a sincere atmosphere and constructive spirit. [new paragraph] At the talks Mr Petur Mladenov...(supplying opening paragraph)

Husak Confers With USSR Marshal Kulikov
AU181223 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 17 Nov 87 p 1

[CTK report: "Comrade Gustav Husak Received Viktor Kulikov; They Assessed Issues Pertaining To Cooperation"]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, received at the Prague Castle on Monday [16 November] Marshal of the Soviet Union Viktor Kulikov, chief commander of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states, who paid a brief working visit to the CSSR.

In a talk, which was held in a friendly and cordial atmosphere, they assessed some issues connected with the further deepening of the Czechoslovak People's Army's cooperation with the other armies of the Warsaw Pact member states.

The reception was attended by Army General Milan Vaclavik, CSSR minister of national defense; Frantisek Salda, head of the Chancellery of the CSSR President; and Lieutenant General Jiri Necas, head of the Military Chancellery of the CSSR President. Colonel General Nikolay Zolotov, senior representative of the chief commander of the Joint Armed Forces of the Warsaw Pact member states to the CSSR Minister of National Defense, was also present.

Adamec at Czech-USSR Friendship Congress
LD161027 Prague Domestic Service in Czech 1730 GMT 14 Nov 87

[Text] The Czech organization of the CSSR-Soviet Friendship Association began its congress today at the Palace of Culture in Prague. Among those who spoke in the debate was Ladislav Adamec, member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and Czech premier, who was heading a party and government delegation. Here is part of what he said:

[Begin recording] Truly firm and mutually beneficial friendship between peoples and countries—and also between individuals, for that matter—can only be founded on the whole truth, the complete truth, on the best possible mutual acquaintance, on all-round and prompt information. Therefore we cannot confine ourselves solely to generalized ideas, work only with official documents, or rely on large quantities of the written word. Strengthening ideas of friendship calls for as much direct and personal contact as possible, real knowledge gained through visits, informal exchange of experience and, above all, through working together. The CSSR-Soviet Friendship Association can do more in the future to ensure that the concepts of strengthening the unity of our communist parties and socialist states find their expression in the broadest possible development of mutually advantageous cooperation through the channels of public organizations, friendly contacts and, to an ever increasing extent, through direct relations between economic, scientific, arts, and other

organizations. A whole range of untapped and newly emerging opportunities is to be found in establishing joint ventures and special task collectives. Many more openings for making CSSR-Soviet relations more effective are created by the concept of economic, scientific, and technical cooperation with the Soviet Union for the next 15-20 years, which is currently being planned. In this context, too, it has to be said quite openly that friendship cannot and must not mean easing up on the quality of our reciprocal goods and work; quite the contrary, because this must be further enhanced. I am convinced that the Czech organization of the CSSR-Soviet Friendship Association will find ways of further improving its activity in the current conditions, and of pitching the quality of its work—especially the work of its primary organizations—to match the level of today's tasks.

The CSSR-Soviet Friendship Association has been one of the most active public organizations affiliated to the National Front since 1945. It has an important position and role in the National Front, not only because of the breadth of its membership, but also from other points of view. In working out and implementing the congress line, our party gives exceptional emphasis to the need to improve the work of the National Front at all levels. The National Front must play a more energetic role in activating the political system in the interests of providing more open and prompt information to the people, and of involving them more widely in the administration, management, and public supervision of social affairs. In this permanent and popular element of our political system, the public organizations—and this applies directly to the CSSR-Soviet Friendship Association, too—ought to develop greater initiative in relation to the state bodies, and issues such as these will have to be looked at again in a new way. Changes in internal and external conditions mean we must draw the necessary conclusions, more actively seek more effective and attractive ways of working, and focus on differentiating our approach to different categories of people, above all to the young generation, and I want to stress this. In your work, too, you will have to be more militant, persistent and inventive in reacting to the need to shape the attitudes and views of young people more effectively. It is your task, in cooperation with the Socialist Youth Union and other public organizations, to help them understand the whole complexity of the development of world socialism, the general and particular circumstances of building a new life in the Soviet Union, and the past, present, and future of that great country.

We consider it particularly important from the political and ideological viewpoints that in making comparisons with the West—and this is something that cannot be avoided—they succeed in recognizing the historic advantages of the socialist system which began on a modest foundation but to which the whole future unequivocally belongs. There are no absolute answers here either, however; we will have to look for them, experiment, and evaluate the findings. One thing, though, is beyond doubt: the degree of its real influence

on young people will increasingly become the basic yardstick for assessing the results of the activity of every social organization. [end recording]

Austrian Daily on Nuclear Reactor Plans

AU161219 Vienna KURIER in German 14 Nov 87 p 3

["Exclusive" report: "A Nuclear Reactor Will Now Be Built in Bratislava"]

[Text] Only 60 km from Vienna a nuclear reactor will be built in the Slovak capital of Bratislava. *Kurier* has learned this from a brochure that is circulating in Bratislava and that was compiled by about 90 scientists.

According to the 62-page study, the authorities have given the go-ahead for the construction of a research reactor. It will be built in Mlynska Dolina, a part of Bratislava. Thus the reactor will be located in the immediate surroundings of an area populated by 70,000 people.

The CSSR had duly announced the planned construction of the research reactor to the IAEA in Vienna—as early as March 1986. At that time the capacity was said to be 100 kilowatts. In fact, as the independent Slovak scientists state in their study, it is now planned for 1 megawatt. This would be more than 10 times as much.

The scientists fear, above all, that the transport of radioactive material from and to the reactor could be hazardous for Bratislava's inhabitants. "It is inconceivable what would happen if there were a traffic accident," the study says.

By the way, this study was also sent to the party and government organizations and to the newspapers with a request for "discussion." The only consequence so far has been that the authorities impounded about 2,000 copies of the brochure. The authors were threatened with losing their jobs. This is justified by saying, among other things that the authors "sold" their study to the enemy—for instance, to the Voice of America.

Husak Sends Telegram on Angolan Anniversary

AU152000 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech 11 Nov 87 p 1

[CTK report in the "Receptions, Talks, Telegrams, Letters" column]

[Text] Prague (CTK)—Gustav Husak, general secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee and CSSR president, has sent Jose Eduardo dos Santos, chairman of the Popular Movement For the Liberation of Angola (MPLA)-Workers Party and president of the People's Republic of Angola, a telegram on the 12th anniversary of the proclamation of independence of the People's Republic of Angola.

The telegram values the results of the selfless efforts of the Angolan people who, under the leadership of their revolutionary vanguard—the MPLA-Workers Party—are creating conditions for building a new, socially just society. It stresses the important contribution of the People's Republic of Angola to the struggle against the policy of apartheid, against imperialism, racism, and neocolonialism, for peace and security in the world. The people of Socialist Czechoslovakia, the telegram states, fully support the Angolan people in their just struggle for the consolidation of the country's revolutionary achievements and independence. It also expresses the conviction that the relations between the two countries and states, built on the principles of Marxism-Leninism and proletarian internationalism, will continue to develop and deepen for the benefit of the two countries, in the interest of peace and social progress in and social progress in the world.

Adamec Speaks on Restructuring 14 Nov

AU181951 Prague RUDE PRAVO in Czech
16 Nov 87 p 2

["Speech by Comrade Ladislav Adamec," member of the CPCZ Central Committee Presidium and premier of the Czech SR, at the Congress of the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society in the Czech SR, held on the opening day of the congress in Prague on 14 November]

[Excerpt] [passage omitted on the significance and legacy of the October revolution, its impact on prewar Czechoslovakia, and on the role of the friendship society in promoting CSSR-Soviet friendship] In the interest of ensuring a happy future for our socialist homeland and enhancing living and cultural standards, we are setting ambitious goals. In meeting them we are coming across many internal as well as external, objective as well as subjective difficulties. We do not expect easy successes; we do not rely on easy victories. The revolutionary spirit of the present abides in not being afraid of difficulties. We are aware of our strengths and potentials and we are able to rely on the experience of our friends—the Soviet Union and other socialist states. We, too, do not regard the demand for revolutionary drive as being solely a matter of the past that concerns just the struggle for political power, for opening the path toward socialism. The social transformations initiated in May 1945 and February 1948 continue today with the implementation of the program of acceleration and restructuring.

The goals and tasks of today are no smaller or easier than the goals and tasks of those days. Even today it is imperative to work in a revolutionary manner—not to rely on past achievements, to persistently assert new needs, energetically overcome obstacles, act consistently in meeting the targets, not to budge in the face of difficulties, not to succumb to impatience, not to let oneself be carried away either by victories or by defeats. The revolutionary character of today exists in combining great long-term targets with everyday efforts at the workplaces, in catching up where we have fallen behind, in courageously criticizing all manifestations of lagging

behind, in boldly raising new issues. That is why we have to do many things at once. This task is not easy but it is unavoidable; no one will do this for us. At the same time we have to be realists, stand firmly on the ground of facts and possibilities, not succumb to impatience, and not present our wishes as the reality. Nothing will change on its own. There are no magic wands in life, every morning we wake up to conditions which we had created ourselves by our own effort.

Practical experience of many years has shown that neither the social system on its own, nor any economic and social laws or resolutions on their own, no matter how accurate, will expedite things. Only man who is profoundly committed, strongly motivated, and internally convinced of the correctness of what he does is capable of changing society and himself, actively overcoming braking phenomena, and setting the mechanism of acceleration in motion. We entertain no illusions that all people are prepared for this already, that everyone is capable and willing to act in this way. We have all had to pay some tribute to the past. In many ways, the inertia of deeply ingrained methods of work limits our possibilities, hampers the development of thinking, and binds our hands. That is why the struggle to prepare people for the new tasks, to change their mode of thinking, and to improve the quality and efficiency of their activity is the most intricate part of implementing the strategy of economic intensification. For this struggle to be victorious, it is essential for the broadest possible strata of the working people to come to understand that the improvement in material and spiritual conditions depends primarily on their own effort.

The restructuring of people's thinking is unthinkable without a qualitatively higher level of political guidance, without bringing about a substantial turn in the work of party, state, and social agencies and organizations. This naturally holds true for the Czechoslovak-Soviet Friendship Society as well. It is good that you realize this and that you are looking for ways to further proceed. Allow me to avail myself of a momentous idea of Lenin to explain this orientation, the need to change traditional, yet no longer suitable forms of work: "Every slogan," he said, "which the party presents to the masses has a tendency to fossilize, to cease to live. Nonetheless, many people continue to consider it valid, even if the conditions that made this slogan necessary have changed. This evil is inevitable and as long as we do not learn to combat and overcome it, we will not ensure the party's correct policy." We must assimilate the art not only of looking for and introducing new contents and methods of work, but, in conjunction with this, also that of overcoming in a purposeful, energetic, and high-principled fashion that which has become obsolete in management and planning, in organizing political life, and in educating people. If we do not manage to do this—and it will not be easy, because it will require each of us to shed the armor of habits—we will not move forward, no matter how much we may wish for it.

The profound changes taking place in the Soviet Union in recent years naturally elicit great interest in all sections of our population. Rarely have events in Soviet

economic and cultural life, in domestic and foreign policy, been followed so attentively as today. The decisions of the highest Soviet party and state agencies, as well as the views of individuals expressed in the information media, are meeting with great, though not always identical, responses in the general public. All this establishes possibilities for the political and educational impact of your organization on its members and other citizens. However, it would be wrong to rely exclusively on this spontaneous interest, or to even regard it as a confirmation of the view that everything is in order and that there is no need to improve anything. Quite the contrary, we ought to ponder many things along with party agencies, the National Front, and state agencies of all levels. First of all, we should ponder how to best channel [podchytit] and put to use the citizens' spontaneous interest in developments in the Soviet Union. This will require a more consistent orientation toward intensifying internationalist education and improving the efficiency of all aspects of Czechoslovak-Soviet cooperation. In this we see an important factor of mobilizing people for displaying greater initiative in implementing the program of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

Nor should we succumb to the notion that the increasing amount of information on life in the Soviet Union today will instill in everyone the truth of the substance and additional motive of what is happening there. In the complex struggles for a correct understanding of the aims of the profound restructuring of society and the renewal of creative Leninism in theory and practice, it is not always easy to separate the essential from the incidental, the generally valid from the partial, the prospective from the ephemeral. [passage omitted covered by referent item, and on the speaker's concluding remarks, voicing confidence that society would meet its goals]

Bank Official on Foreign Travel Ruling

AU171557 Bratislava PRAVDA in Slovak 14 Nov 87 p 2

[Interview with Engineer Jozef Mudrik, deputy general director of the Czechoslovak State Bank, by Peter Sitanyi: "On Foreign Travel Without a Foreign Currency Allocation;" place and date of interview not specified]

[Text] [Sitanyi] According to the announcement of the Federal Ministry of Finance and the Czechoslovak State Bank, freely convertible foreign currencies listed in the Czechoslovak State Bank's Official List that are given as a gift for the purpose of traveling abroad may be used as foreign currency coverage for travels by Czechoslovak citizens to nonsocialist states and Yugoslavia as of 15 November.

[Mudrik] Yes. In other words, they can be used in the same way as foreign currency allocations. This measure was adopted on the basis of CSSR Government Resolution No. 252 of this year, in which the government approved the commercial and political principles of foreign tourism.

[Sitanyi] How will the mechanism of transferring these funds to our citizens work?

[Mudrik] They can be sent from abroad by foreigners from hard-currency countries by international money transfer, or deposited with branches of the Czechoslovak State Bank, Czechoslovak Commercial Bank, or Zivnostenska Bank. Citizens may also use these funds for travel to socialist states. It has to be added, however, that they will be handed over to the citizen only after he has arranged for all travel documents.

[Sitanyi] But for travel documents to be issued to him, the citizen has to furnish evidence that he has the means to pay for his stay abroad...

[Mudrik] Of course, the bank will provide him with such a certificate, which he can then submit to the respective passport and visa office, along with the application for travel abroad.

[Sitanyi] Does this ruling apply just to individuals, or does it also apply to two or three family members?

[Mudrik] It applies to the provision of foreign currency for tourist trips by several family members, but it does not apply to groups of tourists.

[Sitanyi] Does the amount of foreign currency resources sent to our citizens from abroad matter?

[Mudrik] It is a limiting factor in determining the length of stay. The Federal Ministry of Finance fixes the minimum mandatory provision with foreign currency. This minimum mandatory provision currently amounts to U.S. \$20-26 a person for each day spent abroad. I am saying currently, because it may be raised next year, in connection with the fall in the value of the dollar. For example, if a Czechoslovak citizen receives from abroad \$200 for travel abroad before the end of 1987, the bank will issue a note confirming foreign currency coverage for a maximum of 10 days.

[Sitanyi] If someone wants to spend more time abroad, someone abroad has to deposit a higher sum in his name.

[Mudrik] Exactly.

[Sitanyi] It is apparent that the changes discussed here primarily accommodate the wishes of those who have relatives in nonsocialist states or Yugoslavia...

[Mudrik] Not only. For example, many Czechoslovak citizens maintain friendly ties with Yugoslavs, notably those living near the Adriatic coast, and visit each other from time to time. Here it is possible to take advantage of the new measures. On the other hand, we also expect these measures to have another major effect—a relaxation of the pressure which the demand for foreign currency allocations brings to bear [on Czechoslovak foreign currency reserves—].

[Sitanyi] Will there be other changes with regard to tourist travel abroad? [Mudrik] Some additional changes are contemplated in the discussed government resolution, the executive provisions are on the drawing board. The finishing touches are being given to these issues, so to speak, in the interest of further improving and perfecting foreign tourism and its efficiency. As soon as all matters are resolved with final validity, we will inform the public about it.

TU Council Meets, Approves Cadre Changes

AU171242 Prague PRACE in Czech 12 Nov 87 pp 1,2

["R"-signed report: "Fully Developing the Trade Unions' Social Role"]

[Excerpts] The Second Plenary Session of the Central Trade Union Council [URO] opened in Prague yesterday. The agenda of the session includes a discussion on the URO Presidium report "Enhancing the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement's Active Role in Society's Restructuring Through a Consistent Implementation of the Conclusions of the 11th All-Trade Union Congress," the plan of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement's activities for 1988, the URO's position on the draft laws on state enterprises and production, consumer, and housing cooperatives, as well as organizational and cadre issues. [passage omitted]

The proposals concerning cadre matters were submitted by URO Chairman Miroslav Zavadil, on behalf of the URO Presidium. At his own request, Comrade Jan Lobersiner was released from the posts of URO secretary and member of the URO Presidium and Secretariat. In connection with her approaching retirement, Comrade Jirina Vesela was released from the posts of URO secretary and member of the URO Presidium and secretariat. [passage omitted]

Comrade Jozef Lukac, former chairman of the East Slovak Regional Trade Union Council, was released from the post of member of the URO Presidium, in view of his election as leading secretary of the Kosice-City CPSL District Committee. The URO also voiced its approval of Comrade Antonin Liptak being released from the post of URO member, in connection with his being proposed as chairman of the URO Auditing Commission.

By secret ballot, the Second Plenary Session of the URO then elected Comrade Marcela Vokrouhlikova, member of the URO Presidium and current chairwoman of the Trade Union Federation of Health Care Employees, as URO secretary and member of the URO Secretariat. The URO further elected Ladislav Vedra, head of the URO political-organizational department, as its member and as member of the URO Secretariat. [passage omitted]

The URO Auditing Commission released Stefan Polak, its chairman, from this post in connection with his approaching retirement. [passage omitted] At the proposal of the URO Presidium, the URO Auditing Commission elected Comrade Antonin Liptak as its member and as chairman of the URO Auditing Commission.

Hoffmann On Trade Union Conference
LD160030 Prague Domestic Service in Czech
1730 GMT 14 Nov 87

[Text] Applying the economic function of the Revolutionary Trade Union Movement, the informal development of initiative of work, and enhancing the role of work initiative in plan fulfillment and speeding up

socioeconomic development have been on the agenda of a 2-day working conference of the chairmen of six central, Czech and Slovak trade union committees.

Karel Hoffmann, member of the Presidium and secretary of the CPCZ Central Committee, stressed at the close of the conference the need to develop party and trade union influence in the work collectives, and to overcome consistently everything hampering the progress of our society in putting into effect the resolutions of the 17th CPCZ Congress.

Envoy on House Call to Remove Berlin Wall

*LD181912 East Berlin Voice of GDR Domestic Service
in German 1800 GMT 18 Nov 87*

[Text] Ambassador Wolfgang Meyer, spokesman for the GDR Foreign Ministry, has replied to a relevant question concerning the resolution from the U.S. House of Representatives calling for the elimination of the Berlin Wall. He stressed that the shaping of the border regime belongs to the inalienable sovereign rights of all states. The safeguarding of order and security on the GDR border with West Berlin, and also with the FRG, has proved to be particularly significant for peace and security in Europe. Historical experience shows, the spokesman said, that peace is served above all when the inviolability of the borders is ensured.

Mueckenberger Receives USSR's Rubtsov

*AU161807 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 14-15 Nov 87 p 2*

[Text] Berlin [ADN]—On Friday [13 November] Erich Mueckenberger, member of the Politburo of the SED Central Committee and of the presidium of the GDR People's Chamber, received Nikolay Rubtsov, head of the secretariat of the USSR Supreme Soviet, for friendly talks. He briefed the guest about the efforts of the GDR's working people to implement the decisions of the 11th SED Congress and about the activities of the people's representative bodies and their deputies to implement the 1987 National Economic Plan and to prepare the plan documents for the coming year. Socialist democracy is constantly being further perfected through the work of the people's representative bodies of the GDR. This work is close to the citizens and oriented toward performance, Erich Mueckenberger stressed.

The Soviet guest in turn gave an account of the experiences gained in implementing the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress in the work of the state organs of the Soviet Union. Herbert Kelle, head of the secretariat of the GDR People's Chamber, participated in the talks.

On the same day, Nikolay Rubtsov and the delegation headed by him had a friendly meeting with Heinz Eichler, secretary of the GDR State Council, who, in a vivid exchange of experiences, explained to the guests the tasks of the GDR State Council after the 11th SED Congress.

Defense Minister Kessler Praises Soviet Army

*AU101851 East Berlin EINHEIT Nov 10-11/1987
in German pp 896-902*

[Article by GDR Defense Minister General Heinz Kessler: "Reliable Shield of Socialism and Peace"]

[Text] The establishment of the Soviet power as a result of the Great October Days of 1917 for the first time in world history gave rise to a state in which peace with all peoples and states became the basic principle of its

international activity. With the "Decree on Peace," this principle was put on a legal basis for the first time in the world. It was sealed with the world historic radio message "To All!" calling for an immediate end to the genocide.

The circumstances under which the first socialist republic was born in autumn 1917, however, made its armed defense immediately a question of existence or nonexistence. Lenin's prediction that the socialist revolution would be victorious in only one or, at best, in some countries at first because of the extremely irregular development of capitalism, while the other countries would remain bourgeois or pre-bourgeois, was confirmed in the same way as his conclusion: "This must create not only friction but also direct efforts by the bourgeoisie in other countries to destroy the victorious proletariat of the socialist state." (Footnote 1) (V. I. Lenin, "The Military Program of the Proletarian Revolution"; *Works*, volume 23, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1968, page 74)

The young Soviet state had to organize its defense under the most difficult conditions imaginable: In one of Europe's most backward countries, whose economy was, furthermore, exhausted by 3 years of World War I and which was attacked from all sides—by the German Eastern Army, gangs of counterrevolutionary generals, and soon by British, French, American, Japanese, and other interventionist troops. The Bolshevik Party realized that it was impossible to repel this reactionary superior power with only energy and courage for sacrifices—no matter how important these were—of the revolutionary masses, the Red Guards, and the workers militia.

This needed disciplined, purposefully organized, and strictly led armed forces, which had to be superior in their revolutionary spirit to the armies of the counter-revolution and could not lag behind them in strategy and tactics, even though at first they were at an advantage with regard to numbers, armaments, and war experience. The party faced a totally new task, which—in Lenin's words—"had not even theoretically been posed" by the classics of Marxism before the revolution. (Footnote 2) (V. I. Lenin, "Eighth Congress of the Russian Communist Party (of Bolsheviks)"; *Works*, Volume 29, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1961, page 137). It solved this task under most difficult conditions in a creative way. The rescue of the young Soviet state from overwhelming enemies became the first world historic achievement of Russia's liberated peoples after the October Revolution. Led by the ideas of Lenin, who worked out and scientifically founded the military program of the socialist revolution, the teachings on the defense of the socialist fatherland, and the basic principles of building up the Armed Forces of the world's first socialist state, cared for by the CPSU, borne by the love of the working people, hated by the Soviet power's enemies at home and abroad, the Red worker-peasant army developed and proved its worth as a military power of a new kind:

—While the old armies were destined to support the rule of a minority of exploiters over the majority of the population, the Soviet Army—like all socialist armed forces at a later date—had the task to safeguard the vital interests of the working people and to defend their sovereignty.

—While the armies of the exploiters' states marched to battle in order to increase the wealth and power of the ruling stratum at the cost of forcibly subjugated peoples, the function of socialist armed forces consists in protecting their own country, their working people, and their natural and cultural treasures against any inimical attack and to defeat all those who invade the country. As determinedly as the Soviet Union has always been against any attempt to export the counterrevolution, it also rejected the idea of exporting its revolution. It has always been guided by the fact that "the victorious proletariat... (cannot) force any blessings on a foreign people without undermining its own victory." (Footnote 3) (Engels to Karl Kautsky; *Works*, Volume 35, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1967, page 358)

While the bloodstains of increasingly terrible wars of aggression lead through the history of the exploitation society and, in particular, of monopoly capital and while militaristic ideologists still declare the maintenance of forces that are armed to the teeth to be indispensable, the Soviet power entered humanity's history with the "Decree on Peace" and the Bolsheviks considered the victory of the proletariat in the October Revolution already as "the first victory on the way toward abolishing all wars." (Footnote 4) (V.I. Lenin, "On the Fourth Anniversary of the October Revolution"; *Works*, Volume 33, Dietz Verlag, Berlin 1962, page 36)

For a World Without War and Arms [subhead]

Even during the harshest times of civil and interventionist war, the Soviet Communists kept their eyes on the leading star of the noble ideal of a world without war and without arms. In 1919, a year characterized by bitter defensive battles, Mikhail Frunse, one of the generals of the young Soviet Army, affirmed the "final abolition of wars between the peoples and the elimination of the tools of war—of the standing armies" as one of "the main goals set for itself by the great Russian revolution." (Footnote 5) (M.V. Frunse, "On Socialist National Defense"; *Militaerverlag der DDR*, Berlin 1977, page 34). But the Soviet Communists were not impractical dreamers. They carefully considered the specific conditions, the balance of power between the classes and strata, and consistently took the measures necessary for the country's safety from outside interference.

The working people of the Soviet country were aware that the peace they had fought for had to be safeguarded—also by military means—against all aggressive attacks of imperialist world reaction. They unanimously supported the efforts of their party and state leadership to always link their foreign policy's most decisive steps

for peace with unconditionally safeguarding the defense capability of their Soviet homeland. They spared no efforts and made great sacrifices in order to establish a special defense industry while building socialism, to ensure the improvement of the Red Army on the basis of a unified, socialist military doctrine—in particular its motorization and mechanization—and to defend themselves against the extraordinary increase in the power of the attacking armies, an increase pushed by the most aggressive circles of world imperialism.

Thus, by the outbreak of World War II, decisive economic and scientific-technological bases had been created so as to not lag behind in the accelerated development of the military sector. When the harshest of all wars for the defense of socialism started with Hitler Germany's attack in June 1941, these long-term defensive precautions proved strong enough and stable enough to compensate for the aggressors' initial strategic advantages, which had developed for various reasons, to gain the initiative, and to destroy the main forces of the fascist Wehrmacht and its satellites. As a reliable participant in the anti-Hitler coalition, the Soviet Union bore the main burden in this fight of the peoples for existence and it bore this burden for a long time and almost alone during the most difficult months of World War II. At that time *The Washington Post* wrote: "One shudders at the thought of what might have happened if the Red Army had collapsed under the pressure of the attacking German armies, if the Russian people had been less courageous and less intrepid..." (Footnote 6) (Quoted from: Mikhail Sholokhov, "Narrations and Journalistic Pieces"; *Verlag Kultur und Fortschritt*, Berlin 1965, page 321)

The liberation of the Soviet homeland and the peoples in Eastern and central Europe, as well as of several peoples in East Asia, and their rescue from serfdom and extinction was another world historic achievement of the Soviet Union and its Armed Forces after Red October, which had an enormous influence on mankind's progress and on the struggle for peace, which resulted in achieving important preconditions within the anti-Hitler coalition to create a lasting, peaceful, and just postwar order in the world, and whose effects reach into the present in spite of all efforts by the world reaction to eliminate them.

Some of the most important results of World War II and of the victory of the Soviet forces over the armies of Hitler Germany and the Japanese Guangdong Army are:

—that the socialist state and system had proved its immense resistance and vitality and that the Soviet forces had proved their invincibility;

—that after the liberation from foreign fascist and imperialist rule, other peoples in Europe and Asia were able to embark upon the path of democracy and socialism;

—that then, owing to the collapse of the imperialist colonial system, a new group of states developed beside the Soviet Union and the people's democracies: States whose existence and foreign policy further changed the international balance of power for the benefit of social progress and peace.

Main Force of the Socialist Defense Coalition [subhead]

The large imperialist powers, led by the United States, which in 1945 believed it was capable of attaining world dominion and forcing its will on the peoples because of its monopoly on nuclear bombs, did not reconcile itself to the new balance of power resulting from World War II. It tried to undo the international revolutionary process, also by using military means. As early as the 1940's, it started the Cold War against the USSR and the newly established or just-developing people's republics. The establishment of NATO and the equipping of its armed forces with nuclear weapons confronted the socialist states with a new—a nuclear—threat of aggression. Since the United States rejected the proposal to use nuclear energy only for peaceful purposes, the Soviet Union had to start developing its own nuclear weapons and corresponding carrier vehicles, in particular missiles. It is thanks to the Soviet Union and its military power that the United States lost the monopoly on nuclear weapons within a few years and that, finally, it also lost its lead in the field of long-range strategic weapons systems.

Furthermore, the Soviet Army was no longer alone in facing the imperialist forces. In 1955, that is, 6 years after the establishment of NATO and only after year-long efforts, a proposal to create a pan-European collective security system not only met with the permanent "no" of the imperialist Western powers but also was answered with the integration of the FRG into NATO and the establishment of the German Army. At that time, the socialist European states concluded the Warsaw Pact for their collective military protection.

If it has been possible since then to keep the most aggressive forces of world imperialism from unleashing a nuclear war, if all attacks—in whatever form—on Europe's socialist states have been repelled, and if even the strongest opponents of the Soviet Union and the socialist social system have been brought to negotiations and contracts that serve international detente and the normalization of mutual relations, this is because of—in addition to other important factors—the awe-inspiring defensive power of the Soviet Union and the other Warsaw Pact states.

It was of great world historic importance that during the 1960's and 1970's the Soviet Union and the allied socialist states established an approximate military-strategic balance with the United States and NATO and were able to maintain this in spite of the unprecedented speed with which the large imperialist powers brought in more armament. The corresponding reports prove that the United States opened up more and more lanes in the

arms race, no matter whether in the field of nuclear submarines, strategic bombers, multiple warheads, or cruise missiles. And again and again researchers, engineers, and workers in the Soviet defense industry, as well as members of the Soviet Army, ensured the balance of tactical-technical parameters in the entire range of modern weapons systems within a relatively short time. The fraternal armies, too, including our National People's Army, achieved the necessary capacity so that the imperialist extremists did not dare to translate some temporary advantages in military technologies into military actions.

Because of the overall, military strengthening of socialism and other important development processes—I would only like to cite the upsurge in the national liberation and peace movement and the struggle of the workers movement on all continents—a qualitatively new balance of power has developed in the international arena.

The most important effects of all in the approximate military-strategic balance between the Soviet Union and the United States and between the Warsaw Pact and NATO probably is the fundamental fact that this makes it possible for the first time to banish the fateful unavoidability of wars, which has been running through the millennia-old history of the class society. This has created an indispensable precondition for averting the imperialist wars of aggression in the future, a basic precondition for reaching a comprehensive international security system and for halting the immensely expensive and increasingly risky upsurge in the armament spiral.

The Soviet Army and the other socialist armies—including our National People's Army in loyal comradeship-of-arms—which have contributed considerably to reducing more and more the opportunities for imperialism to achieve political and economic goals by means of armed struggle, have increasingly become successful instruments for safeguarding peace and defending socialist achievements. This necessarily includes their corresponsibility to preserve the approximate military-strategic balance of power.

Under the conditions of the nuclear-space age and of the threats to international security as a result of the continuous aspirations of the United States and of other NATO states to military superiority and overcoming socialism and the revolutionary world process, the problem of defending socialism and peace arises today in a new manner. The threat to the foundations of mankind's existence of the massive employment of nuclear arms requires the elimination of war from international politics, resolute steps toward disarmament, and a gradual reduction in the level of military confrontation. A new approach to safeguarding international security has become a mandatory requirement, as was explained in the decisions of the 27th CPSU Congress, the 11th SED Congress, and of the party congresses of other fraternal

parties and as it was asserted in the security and disarmament policy of our parties and states that has been pursued purposefully since that time.

The defense policy and military strategic consequences, which are the result of all this, for our alliance as a whole have found a concentrated expression in the military doctrine of the Warsaw Pact member states proclaimed in late May 1987. One of the main characteristics of this alliance's doctrine, as well as of the military doctrine of every individual participant in the Pact, consists, as Soviet Defense Minister Army General Yazov stressed, of the fact that "it is subordinated to solving the cardinal task of mankind: the prevention of war, either nuclear or one waged with conventional weapons." (Footnote 7) (*Neues Deutschland*, 28 July 1987, p 7)

This is why the Soviet Union and the allied socialist countries are not responding with an equal boost of armaments to NATO's continuous preparations for aggression, but are combining the preservation of defense preparedness that meets the attack potential of the other side with an unequalled dynamic policy of dialogue and of confidence-building, and with more and more new initiatives for arms limitation and disarmament.

The center of the Warsaw Pact's military doctrine is the principle of safeguarding military strength at a level sufficient for defense. Hence the extent of our military activities is being determined by what is the minimum required for the successful repulsion of a possible military aggression. We do not aspire to military superiority, but will not permit any inferiority either. We are for the preservation of the approximate military strategic equilibrium with NATO while gradually reducing the level of the armed forces of both sides. Even if this level is lowered to the minimum required for defense, the capability to repel an aggressor must be guaranteed. This is not a constant, but a variable quantity. It depends on the attitude of the opposite and is also being influenced by other external and internal factors. Thus, for 18 months, the Soviet Union observed a unilateral moratorium on nuclear arms testing and requested that the United States to follow suit. When this did not happen and when the continuing U.S. nuclear arms tests threatened to endanger the security of the USSR and of the other states of the socialist defense coalition, it was unable to extend the moratorium again. It declared its readiness, however, to revalidate the moratorium immediately if the United States halts its nuclear tests. We must also take into consideration the fact that whereas the United States and NATO are asking the Warsaw Pact to unilaterally reduce its conventional armed forces and armaments considerably, they themselves are swiftly further realizing their nuclear and other armament programs. This is for them to be able, in the future, to threaten the European socialist states, not only with nuclear arms, but also with super-modern nonnuclear weapons—including weapons in space—with "decapitating" and "disarming" blows.

An entire spectrum of arms systems for the "deep blow" is being developed and improved. The efforts of decisive FRG circles and of the Bundeswehr leadership to preserve their potential for far-reaching nuclear arms carriers must also be fitted in here. Inspector General Wellershoff stated quite frankly that the Bundeswehr will also need appropriate systems in 2000 because the possession of nuclear carriers "ensures the corresponding influence on the nuclear strategy of the alliance as a whole." (Footnote 8) (*Die Welt*, Bonn, 11 August 1987, p 4) If Chancellor Kohl has announced his readiness to renounce the 72 Pershing-1A missiles, then this agrees with the will of the overwhelming majority of the FRG's populace and also meets the justified expectations of the GDR population and of the other peoples.

The defensive nature of the military doctrine of our alliance and of every one of its individual participants is also quite clearly expressed in the unambiguous obligation to, under no conditions, begin military activities against a state or alliance without a military attack against our alliance or one of its members. The defensive nature of our alliance is also shown in the equally unambiguous obligation on the part of the Soviet Union never be the first to use nuclear weapons. Thus the bottom is knocked out of all imperialist slanders that the Warsaw Pact is planning a "lightning war against Western Europe" or "preemptive strikes" against the United States.

High Vigilance for Peace and Security [subhead]

It is obvious that defending socialist gains and ensuring peace makes unusually great demands on the awareness, vigilance, and military mastery of the members of the Soviet Army and of all fraternal armies. This also means that the armed forces must constantly ensure such a level of combat and mobilization readiness in daily military life that prevents a potential aggressor from having any decisive advantages in a surprise attack. No misguided actions or delays must appear, particularly among the forces on duty, since they can entail most serious consequences in a crisis or conflict situation.

Therefore, it is all the more important to defuse the military-political situation and, through arms limitation and disarmament measures and the promotion of mutual confidence, to put relations between the two military coalitions on durable and more stable foundations in the coming few years. It is also important to establish a system of international security, combined with a radical reduction in military confrontation.

The proposals submitted for this end by the Warsaw Pact member states at the Berlin session cover the entire spectrum of armaments, from strategic arms systems up to chemical and conventional weapons. It is first and foremost important to reduce those components of the armed forces that could be the main instruments in a sudden attack of strategic scope. "Nothing is more urgent today," Erich Honecker stated, "than to free mankind

from the nightmare of a nuclear inferno. Nothing is more imperative than to jointly find confidence-building roads on the basis of equality and equal security and to tread on them. Nothing is more necessary than beginning with nuclear disarmament." (Footnote 9) (Erich Honecker, "In Our Country, Sports Serve the Benefit of Man and Peace in the Spirit of the Olympic Ideal"; *Neues Deutschland* 28 Jul 1987, p 3)

It is self-evident that such reduction processes require strict verification and increasingly more extensive mutual information, consultation, and other confidence-building measures. This is why the Warsaw Pact member states have suggested that consultations between qualified representatives of the two military alliances be held, conferences at which their military doctrines can be compared and analyzed, and at which their desired future orientation can be discussed. The criteria for an objective assessment of the historically grown military balance of power, for exposing disequilibriums and asymmetries as well as for finding practicable ways of settling them could be the subject of such consultations. Our states and armies are ready for this, and even during this year's maneuvers they proved their great openness for confidence-building steps.

It is said in the CPSU Central Committee appeal on the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution: "We will constantly work to ensure that the states on the threshold of the third millenium throw away their nuclear coats of armor, that they do not allow any weapons in outer space, and that ultimately they will also destroy them on the earth. But as long as international reaction is pushing the arms race, and as long as it does not renounce social revenge and the policy of crusading against socialism, the CPSU and the Soviet state will take all the required measures to maintain the defensive power of our country and of the socialist states at the required level." (Footnote 10) (*Neues Deutschland* 14-15 March 1987, p 4)

It is in this same spirit that we, the socialist German state, its Armed Forces, protective and security organs, will, side by side with our brothers in arms, continue to make our reliable contribution to the secure protection of the socialist community and for peace in Europe. By doing so, we are cooperating in fulfilling the legacy of the Great October Socialist Revolution in this vital sector of our party's policy.

Deputy Defense Minister on Disarmament

DW161550 East Berlin Domestic Service in German
1800 GMT 13 Nov 87

[Roundtable discussion with Colonel-General Horst Bruenner, deputy minister of national defense and chief of the Political Main Administration of the National People's Army, by Heinz Britsche and Joachim Stenzel with Alfred Eichhorn moderating the program—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Passage omitted] [Eichhorn] Our country's military policy and our country's peace policy will be the subject of discussion this evening. Heinz Britsche, please.

[Britsche] [Passage omitted] In your view, what is the most important contribution made by the Soviet Union and its armed forces toward ensuring peace today?

[Bruenner] You mentioned the peace decree. And we may certainly say that since then it has always been a concern of socialist military policy to preserve peace and at the same time reliably protect the building of socialism in the Soviet Union and, today, also in the socialist countries. Talking about the most important contribution, I think it consists of achieving and preserving the military-strategic parity between the Soviet Union and the United States and, respectively, the Warsaw Pact and NATO. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] We are struggling for general disarmament, and we are trying to move from one zero solution to the next. Under such circumstances, is the function of a soldier in socialism of any significance at all?

[Bruenner] Your question seems to suggest that the soldier's function will become less significant. I must tell you, the opposite is true. In the struggle for the prevention of a nuclear inferno that we have just discussed, in the struggle for the real implementation of disarmament measures, for the reduction of the armed forces, in other words, in the struggle for the preservation of peace, the responsibilities and tasks of the socialist armed forces are increasing. This is because they have proved to be an important factor for the safeguarding of peace. Many historic facts of recent years have proved that.

The curbing power of the socialist armed forces appears today as the guarantor of international stability and security. I talked about the strategic balance earlier, and seen from that angle, the meaning of being a soldier in socialism assumes a broader and even philosophical justification. The starting point of our considerations in that respect is the fact that peace is all the more secure, the more we strengthen socialism. That also includes the military power of the socialist armed forces because they turn every imperialist aggression into a deadly risk for the aggressor and thus certainly cause him to drop his plan to use military force.

That means that the battle against war must be fought successfully in times of peace. Therefore, ensuring peace militarily makes it necessary for the armed forces to show as high a combat value as would be necessary for fulfilling fighting tasks. Thus the GDR armed forces contribute to shaping the SED'S peace policy, as was also stated by Comrade Erich Honecker, SED Central Committee general secretary, in his toast at the reception for the military academy graduates. Such considerations

also reflect the moral of the military profession as well as the meaningful task to dedicate ourselves to that profession as a lifelong task. [passage omitted]

Army Officers Observe FRG Exercises

*LD132342 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1315 GMT 13 Nov 87*

[Text] Berlin, 13 Nov (ADN)—The group of National People's Army officers that has been inspecting military exercises by Bundeswehr troops in the area northwest of Kassel since Wednesday, ended its work and returned to the GDR on Friday afternoon.

The inspection had been requested from the FRG Government by the Government of the GDR on Monday in accordance with the stipulations in the document of the Stockholm Conference on Confidence-Building measures, Security and Disarmament in Europe.

SED Protests Arrest of Turkish CP Leaders

*LD182142 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1507 GMT 18 Nov 87*

[Text] Berlin, 18 Nov (ADN)—The SED Central Committee has learned with anger of the arrest of Haydar Kutlu, Turkish Communist Party Central Committee general secretary, and Nihat Sargin, secretary general of the Turkish Labor Party, on their return to Ankara on 16 November 1987.

Both politicians were returning home after many years of exile to work for the legalization of a United Communist Party in Turkey, thus contributing to the democratization process in their country.

The SED stands firmly at the side of the Turkish fraternal parties in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress. The persecution and imprisonment of communists, trade unionists, and fighters for peace is an anachronism in our time and all the more so in a country that has signed the Helsinki Final Act.

The SED Central Committee decisively protests the arrest of the leaders of both parties and calls for their immediate release as well as the end of all repression. The SED Central Committee assures all Turkish Communists, all democratic and progressive forces in the struggle for the release of Comrades Haydar Kutlu and Nihat Sargin of its internationalist solidarity.

Deputy Foreign Minister on UN Meeting

*AU161548 East Berlin HORIZONT in German
11 Nov 87 p 6*

[Article by Harry Ott, GDR deputy foreign minister and permanent representative to the United Nations: "Objectivity and Optimism"]

[Text] The 42d session of the UN General Assembly has concluded an important part of its work—the general debate—and started discussion on the more than 140

items on the agenda in the plenary session and in the seven main committees. The course of the discussions to date has been characterized by calmness, objectivity, constructive work, and more optimism than in previous years with regard to assessing the international situation—apart from the usual discords caused by the representatives of a small number of Western states. This year there is also more evidence of the willingness and readiness by members of the United Nations to achieve understanding among themselves and to reach joint results on important questions. Therefore, the first specific result of the 42d General Assembly session was the demonstrative support for the Guatemala Peace Plan, which was expressed in the unanimous adoption of the resolution on the situation in Central America.

Almost all 152 statements during the general debate undividedly supported the agreement in principle between the Soviet Union and the United States on the worldwide elimination of their medium-range and operational-tactical missiles. It was paid tribute to as an important step on the way toward eliminating all nuclear weapons and as a start of disarmament in general. Representatives of states from all regions and military-political alliances expressed the hope that this agreement would promote and give new stimuli to the negotiations on the 50-percent reduction of strategic nuclear systems, the observance of the ABM Treaty and saving space from the arms race, the halting of nuclear tests, the elimination of chemical weapons, and the gradual reduction of conventional armaments.

The imminent 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution also has a lasting effect on the events at the 42d General Assembly session. Interest in and support for the proposals and initiatives of the Soviet Union and the socialist states in general have increased without any doubt. A new way of political thinking and a policy of dialogue and understanding, of reason and realism are gaining more and more ground. The proposal of the socialist states to establish a comprehensive system of world peace and international security is now taking concrete shape after being thoroughly discussed.

Of course, the general debate focused on the main questions of the present, in particular on problems of arms limitation and disarmament, but also on problems of finding peaceful, just, and lasting solutions to international conflicts, of democratic restructuring of international economic relations, and on social and humanitarian questions that concern all of mankind. While in the economic area, the trade and financial problems of the developing countries—in particular their foreign debts—dominated, the sector of international conflicts focused on the demand for a peaceful settlement on the basis of the UN Charter and consideration of the legitimate interests of the affected states.

The GDR is contributing in manifold ways to the constructive and result-oriented course of the UN General Assembly. Thus, Erich Honecker's official visit to

the FRG met with utmost attention in the United Nations and was praised as exemplary realization of an active policy of dialogue and as a concrete contribution to improving international relations. In his declaration of principles, Oskar Fischer convincingly substantiated our state's principled policy to solve mankind's vital questions, in particular to prevent a nuclear war, and affirmed the GDR's willingness to contribute to peacefully settling all the problems in various regions of the world. This constructive line also determined our foreign minister's numerous meetings with his counterparts from all over the world. It remains the basis of the active work of the entire GDR delegation in the bodies of the 42d General Assembly. This year the GDR's strengthened international reputation found eloquent testimony in particular in the election of Peter Florin to general assembly president.

In the seven main committees, whose intensive and concrete work is now fully under way, our republic's representatives are working purposefully and prudently together with the Soviet representatives and the partners from the other socialist states in order to explain and implement the joint peace program. As in previous years, the behavior of the nonaligned states demonstrates far-reaching concurrence with our positions and many common interests with the countries of socialism. In addition, we will continue our efforts in talks with representatives of Western countries to put all-encompassing questions of peace and common security, the solution of global problems of mankind, and the development of equal and mutually beneficial relations into the foreground of cooperation.

Strenuous work will have to be done before the main term of the 42d General Assembly is concluded this December—the resolutions and decisions, which are prepared and discussed by the plenum and the main committees, will then be submitted for adoption. The signs are encouraging that especially this assembly will fulfill the expectations of the peoples and will make a tangible contribution to averting the danger of a nuclear war and to creating a climate of trust in the international relations. Many questions, however, have still to be discussed, for instance questions on disarmament and international security, on the implementation of the peoples' right to self-determination and of human rights on the whole, and on the ultimate elimination of colonialism, racism, fascism, and apartheid, as well as the creation of equal, democratic economic relations between the states and peoples.

In any case, the course of the United Nations General Assembly to date reflects the fact that since the 1986 summit between the USSR and the United States in Reykjavik many things have started to move and a new situation has developed in international relations. At the same time, it causes great concern in this international organization that the advocates of the arms race and confrontation want to continue their course with all means, that in the Middle East—and in particular in the

Gulf—tensions and military conflicts are escalating, and that the racist regime in Pretoria carries out renewed attacks on peace and security in southern Africa. All this calls for vigilance and urges the forces of peace, reason, and realism to start joint actions.

Honecker Meets Greek Socialist Delegation

*LD131614 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1329 GMT 13 Nov 87*

[Text] Berlin, 13 Nov 87 ADN—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council, received a delegation from the Greek Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK), on Friday.

The head of the delegation, Athanasios Tsouras, conveyed warm greetings and a personal message to the chairman of PASOK and prime minister of the Greek Republic, Andreas Papandreu. Erich Honecker thanked him and asked that his best wishes be conveyed to Andreas Papandreu.

Both agreed that the safeguarding of peace and the strengthening of international security was the all-important task today. They welcomed the coming summit meeting between the USSR and the United States as an important event in the struggle for disarmament and detente. A beginning to nuclear disarmament was taking place with the agreement on the removal of land-based medium-range missiles. Further agreements on the reduction of strategic weapons, on stopping all nuclear weapons tests, and on strengthening the ABM treaty had to follow.

Erich Honecker and Athanasios Tsouras reaffirmed the firm resolve of the SED and PASOK, the GDR and Greece, to contribute to disarmament and detente through own initiatives and proposals.

The sincere and intensive relations between the GDR and Greece were a good example of how states with differing social systems and alliances could cooperate closely in the interest of peace and for the well-being of their peoples.

SED and PASOK, it was emphasized in agreement, feel there is now a great need to solve the great problems facing mankind through cooperation among all forces of peace, reason, and realism. The two parties intend to expand their friendly relations and contacts further with this aim in mind.

The talk, which took place in a cordial and open atmosphere, was attended by Hermann Axen, member of the Politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee; Heinz Eichler, State Council secretary; as well as Dhimitrios Sostirlis, alternate member of the PASOK Executive Bureau.

On the same day the PASOK delegation met Hermann Axen for a detailed exchange of views on the status and the further development of relations between the SED and PASOK. The progress that had been achieved was praised and concrete measures for the expansion of cooperation were agreed on.

Tisch Speaks at Solidarity Event

*AU171106 East Berlin NEUES DEUTSCHLAND
in German 16 Nov 87 pp 1,2*

[Excerpt] East Berlin (ND)—On Saturday [14 November] in Berlin, the 30th Solidarity Event, "Freedom for Peace," was opened with a moving concert. In his address Harry Tisch, member of the SED Central Committee Politburo and chairman of the FDGB National Executive Council, stated that the joint action by the FDGB and the broadcasting station "Voice of the GDR" has a good tradition in all sectors of the population. It is completely in keeping with the thinking and the solidarity activities of the workers class and of all progressive forces in the struggle for peace, democracy, and social progress. "For trade unionists and all citizens of the GDR, solidarity is to a great extent an active attitude toward life," he noted. Harry Tisch continued: "It is the most important task of our time to safeguard and strengthen world peace." As Erich Honecker stated at the most recent meeting in Moscow, this represents the highest interest of the workers movement and of all progressive forces.

"We welcome the summit meeting between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan in Washington on 7 December at which the agreement on the complete elimination of medium-range nuclear missiles is to be signed and where negotiations on the reduction of strategic offensive weapons and the strengthening of the ABM-Treaty are to be continued," the speaker said amid strong applause. "We resolutely advocate the use of these great chances for far-reaching disarmament steps so that the world will be free from nuclear arms by the turn of the century." Guided by the principle "My Work Station—My Combat Station for Peace," the working people of the GDR have made their active contributions to strengthening socialism and safeguarding lasting peace through the further successful implementation of the 11th SED Congress resolutions.

It is clear that this year the "Freedom for Peace" drive will meet with broad response so that efficient support for the struggle of our brothers-in-class in the world of capitalism and of the peoples in Asia, Africa, and Latin America can continue to be provided, as decided by the 11th FDGB Congress. Harry Tisch pointed out. [passage omitted]

Honecker Receives Political Party Leaders

*LD161516 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1233 GMT 16 Nov 87*

[Text] Berlin, 16 Nov (ADN)—Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR Council of State, received on Monday Dr

Guenther Maleuda, chairman of the Democratic Peasants' Party of Germany [DBD]; Gerald Goetting, chairman of the Christian Democratic Union of Germany [CDU]; Prof Manfred Gerlach, chairman of the Liberal Democratic Party of Germany [NDPD]; and Prof Lothar Kolditz, president of the National Council of the GDR National Front, for an exchange of views on current issues of domestic and foreign policies.

The talks revolved around the joint action for the further implementation of the resolutions of the 11th SED party congress, for the policy supported by all the parties and mass organizations in the democratic bloc and the National Front for the benefit of the peoples and for the safeguarding of peace.

Erich Honecker spoke about the festive session marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution and the meeting of representatives from 178 parties and movements in Moscow and his friendly meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev.

The events in the USSR capital were of historic, world import once, Erich Honecker underlined. They made clear that mankind entered a new epoch with Red October and that the Soviet people themselves since then, under the leadership of the Leninist party, have traversed a unique path in reshaping the most backward country of Russia into a modern socialist great power. The attitude of the communists from the party of Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg, Ernst Thaelmann, Wilhelm Pieck, Otto Grotewohl and Walter Ulbricht, the feelings of all generations of the GDR people were expressed in the Kremlin with the words that for them the CPSU has been at all periods of its history, including the present one, a party of innovators and pioneers that has always embarked on unexplored paths and which was the first in world history to smooth the path for socialism. Erich Honecker emphasized, as the others agreed.

We are watching the further progress of the Soviet people in the implementation of the important decisions of the 27th CPSU Party Congress with great interest and equal sympathy.

Firm, unbreakable bonds of friendship unite us with the Soviet Union in the struggle for socialism and peace. That will continue to be so, as the results of the friendly meeting with Mikhail Gorbachev showed. The USSR and the GDR will develop their relations on a qualitatively new level in accordance with the requirements of the present stage of socialist construction in both countries and the tasks for deepening socialist integration in the CEMA. All socialist states have one common aim that they strive for under the respective concrete national and historical conditions and that they are striving to achieve with their policies—to benefit their own people and thus simultaneously to strengthen world socialism, to increase its international influence.

The Moscow meeting of parties and movements proved that the need and opportunity for the cooperation of all revolutionary, progressive, and peace-loving forces has never been greater than today, the general secretary of the SED Central Committee said. The recognition expressed in all the speeches that the prevention of a nuclear inferno and that the safeguarding of the survival of human civilization has become the most important of all issues is crucial. The GDR, with its policy of dialogue and cooperation, will continue to work steadfastly toward the creation of the broadest possible coalition of reason and realism, and will do everything so that security and peace come about not building up arms against each other but only in mutual agreement, with political means on the basis of peaceful coexistence. The opportunities exist for this.

Today, more important than ever, and this was made plain by the days in Moscow, is the role of socialism as the proponent of peace, Erich Honecker said. Conscious of this fact, the citizens of the GDR, members of all classes and strata, irrespective of ideology or religion, have stated: My workplace—my battle station for peace. This corresponds to the historic truth, ever since the days of Red October, that peace must be fought for against the expansionist efforts of the most aggressive imperialist circles, above all through the strength of socialism. The clash between the two opposing social orders cannot be overcome. This historic competition can be decided only if peace is preserved, and if mankind survives.

The representatives of the parties and movements at the meeting placed the vital questions of the peoples urgently on the agenda: The solving of all regional conflicts, conjured up by imperialism, to which innocent peoples are falling victim every day; the elimination of exploitation and oppression in the capitalist countries, where despite high scientific-technological achievements mass unemployment and new poverty are raging; the overcoming of hunger in many parts of the Third World, which kills women and children; the abolition of all forms of apartheid and racial discrimination. Just as the safeguarding of peace for all peoples is the vital question, so the removal of all these scourges of mankind remains on the agenda as long as there exist classes and class struggles. As long as there exists colonial oppression there will be a struggle for the liberation from it.

The GDR welcomes the summit between Mikhail Gorbachev and Ronald Reagan on 7 December of this year in Washington, where the agreement on the double zero-solution for nuclear medium-range missiles will be concluded and the reduction of strategic offensive weapons and the strengthening of the ABM treaty will be negotiated. We are in favor, commensurate with the peace program of the Berlin summit of the Warsaw Pact states, and according to the principles of equality and equal security, processing from zero-option to zero-option, with no type of weapon excluded.

In the GDR, Erich Honecker continued, fulfilling the tasks confronting us has become the concern of all classes and strata of the people. The party congresses of the friendly parties held after the 11th SED Party Congress this year, impressive in their record and outlook, testified also to the full identity of views on domestic and foreign policy issues. One can but underline the statements made then that our comradely cooperation in the democratic bloc and in the National Front is and remains an essential driving force in the further shaping of the advanced socialist society. With the DBD, the CDU, the LDPD, and the NDPD, the SED knows it has proven comrades on its side who are firmly resolved to achieve constantly new, visible successes for the benefit of the citizens, on the course of the unity of economic and social policy embarked upon with the Eighth SED party congress 16 years ago. To exist for the people and its interests determines the work of all parties and mass organizations in the socialist GDR.

Decisive for this will be also in future the further stable development of the national economy on the basis of tackling the scientific and technological revolution, the consistent development and application of key technologies, microelectronics, optoelectronics, sensor and computer technology, optical fiber, and laser technology and biotechnology.

It is our common experience that through the realization of the unity of the economic and social policy the democratic involvement of the citizens in the shaping of the social processes has experienced a great upswing. Socialist democracy in our country—the constantly increasing active participation of the broadest population circles for the general well-being and its readiness to cooperate—helps plan and govern in a way that word and deed are one.

We are glad about the involvement of the friendly parties, Erich Honecker emphasized, which in solving our tasks in industry and agriculture, the repair, services, and supply sectors of the cooperative and private artisanship and trade, as well as local politics, which are close to the citizens, has gained great weight. The objective now, through fulfilling and the overfulfilling in specific areas of the 1987 national economic plan, is to ensure a good start for the coming year.

The chairmen of the friendly parties and the president of the national Council of the GDR National Front thanked Erich Honecker for the work done in Moscow on the occasion of the celebrations marking the 70th anniversary of the Great October Socialist Revolution. To work always by the side of the Soviet Union for socialism and peace will be a matter close to the heart of the citizens of the GDR. The friendship with the country of Lenin has a special place in the history of their parties and has a lively tradition in the work of the national front.

The overall strengthening of the GDR and the broad development of socialist democracy through the inclusion of all citizens remained in the further shaping of the advanced socialist society in the GDR, as the participants in the talks concurred in noting. This was the fundamental guideline of all forces united in the democratic bloc of parties and mass organizations.

The party leaders talking to Erich Honecker spoke about the successful implementation of the party congresses of the DBD, the CDU, the LDPD, and NDPD, as well as the once-again remarkable, 1987 results of the "Beautify our Cities and Villages—Join In" movement. The proven alliance of all parties and mass organizations, under the leadership of the party of the working class in the GDR, as the chairmen of the friendly parties and the president of the National Council said, will continue to be the pledge for further successes in the interest of the whole people.

The many initiatives for the benefit of the whole and each individual citizen serve this end. This course will be continued uncompromisingly in the domestic and foreign policy sectors in order to create through the further dynamism of the social development constantly new preconditions that benefit the peoples and serve peace.

The meeting was attended by Joachim Herrmann, member of the politburo and secretary of the SED Central Committee, and Karl Vogel, department head of the Central Committee.

Honecker Attends Dedication of Building
*LD182130 East Berlin ADN International Service
in German 1558 GMT 18 Nov 87*

[Excerpts] Berlin, 18 Nov (ADN)—The GDR Academy of Arts was presented today with its renovated main building in Berlin's Robert Koch square. Guests at the ceremony, which took place together with a festive event organized by members of the academy, included Erich Honecker, general secretary of the SED Central Committee and chairman of the GDR State Council; SED Central Committee Politburo Members Willi Stoph, chairman of the Council of Ministers; Hans-Joachim Boehme; Kurt Hager; Joachim Herrmann; Guenter Mittag; and Guenter Schabowski; as well as further leading personages. Academy President Professor Manfred Wekwerth welcomed the leading personages very warmly in the neo-Baroque building that was built by Ernst von Ihne between 1904 and 1906. [passage omitted]

Erich Honecker and other members of the party and state leadership, together with numerous further guests, with ordinary and corresponding members from home and abroad then took part in the festive event in the Konrad Wolf room of the academy in its building in Hermann Matern street. In his welcoming address, Prof Wekwerth emphasized: "We are participating in the struggles of our time with our art and as artists." [passage omitted]

Further on Kadar's Visit to Belgium

Toast at Brussels Dinner

AU190843 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
17 Nov 87 p 3

[MTI version of the toast by MSZMP General Secretary Janos Kadar at a dinner in Brussels on 16 November: "Toast in Brussels—Janos Kadar: Building Confidence and Multilateral Cooperation Are the Only Possible Way"]

[Text] Ladies and Gentlemen!

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister!

On my behalf and on behalf of my entourage, I express my heartfelt thanks for the invitation, the cordial reception, and attentive hospitality. Thank you for your flattering words about Hungary and the Hungarian people.

In the stormy centuries of its history, the survival of the small Hungarian people, as well as being guaranteed by its love of freedom and selfless work, was also guaranteed by its receptiveness to European civilization and the achievements of economic and social development. The contacts between our peoples derive from old times. In contacts that enriched the Hungarian people and spread European values, we also bear in mind the historical relations that we have developed with the Walloons and the Flemings. Beginning with the 10th and 11th centuries, Walloon settlers also contributed to the development of Hungarian towns, and Walloon and Flemish units also participated in liberating Buda from the Turkish yoke in 1686.

In Hungary today, there is also great interest in the achievements of the developed Belgian economy and in your country's scientific achievements and cultural values. Experience shows that our countries' different social orders and different international alliances do not hinder our cooperation. The similar endowments of our countries, reflected in the size of our countries and in many other areas, make it possible, and our common interest in safeguarding peace and consolidating security in Europe make it absolutely necessary to continue our dialogue and further build our relations.

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister!

We regard your visit to Hungary in 1984 as an outstanding event in our relations. Our talks on that occasion not only had an encouraging effect on the development of cooperation between our countries, but also contributed to maintaining an East-West dialogue in a period of tense international relations. An important Belgian economic delegation led by Prince Albert visited Hungary last year, and the Hungarian premier held talks in Brussels. My present visit, meetings, and talks fit well into this series of dialogues.

I highly appreciate the talks we held with the prime minister today, talks held in a very good atmosphere. It is my conviction that mutually strengthening the desire for the sincere development of relations that realistically take into consideration each other's interests will have an encouraging effect on cooperation between our countries. We have formulated our opinions on several important international issues in an identical or similar way. It is also natural that we have different opinions on some political world issues, as we are following different paths of economic and social development and we belong to different alliance systems. However, on both sides there is readiness to rely on points upon which we agree and on points in which the interests of our peoples are identical. We can firmly state that both sides, both the Hungarian and Belgian side, desire to maintain peace, strengthen mutual confidence and appreciation, and further improve the mutually advantageous relations.

Esteemed Mr Prime Minister!

The fact that one can notice favorable trends emerging in the international relations today is a welcome development. There is a tangible strengthening of the recognition that the world has come to the age of mutual interdependence between countries, and that long-term coexistence between East and West requires orderly and widening relations. Mutual consideration of interests, political solutions to controversial international issues, the building of confidence, and multilateral cooperation are the only possible way.

This recognition could provide new prospects for cooperation between states in Europe. The economic and political processes under way in the world make it timely to use the vast possibilities inherent in the economic and trade relations between the two parts of our continent. There is also growing recognition that the future of mankind would be served best if we could concentrate our forces on the rational exploitation of the still irreplaceable raw materials and energy sources, and on solving the tasks of environmental protection.

The Hungarian people welcome the favorable developments in Soviet-U.S. relations, particularly the agreement in principle on the elimination of medium- and short-range nuclear missiles and the readiness for further summit meetings. It is in line with the interests of every people if foreign policy is aimed at creating equal security at a lower level of armaments. We are confident that signing the agreement, which means a breakthrough in nuclear disarmament, will have an encouraging effect also on other areas of arms limitation. We hope for early success in reaching an agreement on further reducing nuclear arms, on avoiding the militarization of space, eliminating chemical weapons, and also limiting conventional arms.

I am convinced that every country, including the small countries, should play a role in encouraging this process. The NATO analysis group dealing with the proposals submitted by the Warsaw Pact member countries at their meeting in Budapest in June 1986 was set up precisely on Belgium's initiative.

In the 12 years that have passed since the signing of the Final Act in Helsinki, and as a result of our common efforts, cooperation between the states that participate in the Helsinki process has increased considerably, contacts between peoples have increased, and mutual confidence and understanding have also become stronger.

All these things also had an effect beyond the borders of Europe and contributed to the stability of international relations. Today there is again a need for joint action in order to further promote the cause of consolidating European security and deepening all-European cooperation by making use of the results achieved so far and the current favorable international atmosphere. We are all interested in concluding the Vienna followup conference with concrete and balanced agreements in all areas, agreements that serve these goals. At the consultations currently being held we consider it similarly important that the representatives of the two military alliance systems agree, as soon as possible, on a new negotiation forum dealing with the limitation of armed forces and conventional arms in Europe, and that it be incorporated the Helsinki process.

As always, the Hungarian People's Republic continues to be ready to promote the reduction of military confrontation in Europe, the strengthening of mutual confidence, and the expansion of political contacts and economic, technical, scientific, cultural, and humanitarian cooperation.

Because of its conditions, Hungary—like Belgium—is heavily dependent on international economic relations. About half of our national income derives from foreign trade; therefore, we consistently encourage the establishment of trade relations that are free of obstacles, together with mutually advantageous economic cooperation.

In addition to the mobilization of our own resources, the program of economic and social stabilization and development recently worked out by our party and government intends to rely even more than previously on the possibilities inherent in international economic relations. We are ready to apply modern forms of economic cooperation with every one of our partners that is interested in establishing mutually advantageous relations. We hope that there will be an increasing number of Belgian enterprises and businessmen among these partners.

Mr Prime Minister!

Ladies and Gentlemen!

At our talks today we decided to further deepen cooperation between our countries. We did that by being aware that public opinion in both countries will fully support this decision, all the more so because the multilateral development of our relations will serve not only the people of the Hungarian People's Republic and of the Kingdom of Belgium, but will also contribute to strengthening the confidence between East and West and to furthering the Helsinki process.

Received by Brussels Mayor

*LD171512 Budapest MTI in English 1445 GMT
17 Nov 87*

[Text] Brussels, November 17 (MTI)—On Tuesday, the second day of his official visit to Belgium, Janos Kadar called on the Brussels Town Hall. Janos Kadar was met by Mayor Herve Broughon, who emphasized that Janos Kadar's visit deepened the dialogue between the two countries to the benefit of bilateral and universal European relations. Contacts between the EEC and the CMEA work to the same end, he said. In his reply Janos Kadar expressed thanks for the warm friendly words which also reflected respect for the Hungarian people. Janos Kadar spoke of the tasks facing Hungary and the clear-cut, firm and open programme elaborated for their solution. He emphasized that the policy starting from the endowments of the country dictates that the problems should not be settled in an isolated way, but through common work, together with the partners who are prepared to cooperate.

Concerning the high-level meeting in Brussels, Janos Kadar said that the talks reflected the common intention and resolution to expand bilateral relations to the benefit of both peoples. He expressing his good wishes to the leaders and inhabitants of Brussels and asked them to make further contributions to the development of Hungarian-Belgian relations, to the better knowledge of peoples, and to friendship and cooperation.

Later Janos Kadar and his party went to the Royal Palace at Laeken. At the gate of the palace Janos Kadar was greeted by King Baudouin in Belgium, and the parties started their consultation. Then the king and the queen gave a gala dinner in Janos Kadar's honour.

Janos Kadar is to close the official programme of his visit to Belgium with an international press conference at the Brussels press centre at 4 p.m. on Tuesday.

News Conference

*LD172157 Budapest MTI in English 2038 GMT
17 Nov 87*

[Text] Brussels, November 17 (MTI)—As reported, Janos Kadar, general secretary of the Hungarian Socialist Workers' Party, held an international press conference Tuesday afternoon in Brussels, at the end of his official visit to Belgium.

Among others, he noted that a very high proportion of Hungary's national income, some 50 per cent, is realized in foreign trade, and about half of this is realized on non-socialist markets. It follows from this, and also accords with our policy, that we are an open country. Maintaining the norms of international relations, we strive for extensive cooperation with all countries that show readiness for this, including political, economic, cultural relations, as well as tourism and personal contacts, he said.

In Hungary, we now have to find answers to economic issues which concern our entire society, all inhabitants of our country. Our task is to establish the conditions of rational economy, by keeping the humanistic fundamental principles of our socialist society in view.

There are hopeful signs in international life at present, said Janos Kadar. The most outstanding among these is the Soviet-American summit scheduled for December 7, the already announced intention that the sides wish to agree in the elimination of certain missile weapons there. If this is realized, then it will be proof of the high sense of reality of both sides, and will be step with which they shall serve the interests of all peoples.

Summing up the experiences of his visit to Belgium Janos Kadar stressed: Appropriate, many-sided relations have been in existence between Hungary and Belgium for a good many years, and these cover all possible areas of cooperation. The two countries are interested in joining the international division of labour in the greatest degree possible.

Both sides have the intention to further develop many-sided cooperation. Hungary and Belgium are both small countries, but it is our common intention to contribute to the improvement of European relations, in proportion with our possibilities. It is my conviction that the talks will be followed by action, that Hungarian-Belgian cooperation will be extended, and that we shall take a stand on the international arena, either separately or jointly, for detente and in the interest of a firmer, more lasting peace—said the general secretary of the HSWP.

Intensive discussions have been in progress in the past years between representatives of Hungary and the Common Market, in the interest of reaching an agreement said Janos Kadar, then pointed out: There are several issues still to be solved. It follows from our membership in GATT that the countries of the Common Market should ensure the most favoured nation clause in trade carried out with Hungary. We do not, however, receive this, and the member states, in different ways, also impose special taxes, quantitative restrictions on our export items. We would like to reach agreement in this issues with the Common Market in the foreseeable future, and, on the basis of my current talks, I am of the opinion that this is possible.

In answer to questions, Janos Kadar said that Hungary was frequently mentioned as a Communist country. We are currently building socialist society, where there are money relations and commodities production. We realized some time ago that the laws of the market cannot be left out of consideration, and that one can work only with realistic prices. We therefore switched over, for example, to producer's prices which adapt to the world market prices, and our reform efforts also express this.

In answer to a question on the obstacles in the way of the agreement between Hungary and the Common Market, Janos Kadar said: I have confidence in the successful completion of the negotiations. I must, however, say that throughout the entire process of the intensive talks our partners frequently say they could reach agreement with us, but are afraid of setting a precedent. And it must also be kept in mind that even within the Common Market, the evaluation of the member states is not the same regarding the maintenance of relations.

With respect to the Hungarian standpoint on medium-range missiles he said: At all events, nuclear weapons have to be eliminated from among the total armaments. The countries of the Warsaw Treaty, including the Soviet Union, have set forth clearly that nuclear weapons, which pose a constant threat, have to be eliminated in the interest of humanity.

The Warsaw Treaty is ready to hold talks on the reduction of all branches, including land forces. The Warsaw Treaty recently also declared it is ready to agree with NATO on the withdrawal of all alien troops stationed abroad. Our fundamental principle is to guarantee equal security on a lower level of armaments, with effective control.

Referring to Janos Kadar's remarks on the withdrawal of foreign troops, a journalist asked about the future of the Soviet troops stationed in Hungary. The general secretary of the party pointed out in his answer that the presence of Soviet troops in Hungary is closely related to the development of the international situation.

Further on Nemeth Visit to Brazil

'Satisfaction' Expressed

*LD181116 Budapest MTI in English 0711 GMT
18 Nov 87*

[Text] Brasilia, November 18 (MTI)—On Wednesday Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council of the Hungarian People's Republic, is to conclude his official visit to Brazil and leave Brasilia for Rio de Janeiro in the afternoon (Central European time), to go on to Uruguay on Thursday.

In a statement to MTI, Karoly Nemeth expressed satisfaction over the outcome of his visit to Brazil and assessed his talks with President Sarney and the economic and press agreements concluded accordingly.

Under the protocol signed by Peter Veress, Hungarian minister of foreign trade, and Abreu Sodre, foreign minister of Brazil, the parties intend to broaden the range of export-import products with commodities of higher value. The Hungarian party declared in case it can dynamically boost exports to Brazil, it will be ready to maintain the high level of traditional purchases from there (coffee, cacao, textile industrial raw materials).

Under-secretary of State Rezso Banyasz, president of the Information Office of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, member of Karoly Nemeth's suite, spoke to representatives of the Brazilian and international press Tuesday. He stated the talks of the Hungarian and Brazilian heads of state were successful contributions to exploring and utilizing the new opportunities in the many-sided relations of the two countries. During the day Rezso Banyasz held a brief discussion with Foreign Ministry Spokesman Rui Nogueira.

Nemeth Visits Rio de Janeiro

LD190024 Budapest MTI in English 1652 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Rio de Janeiro, November 18 (MTI)—Karoly Nemeth arrived in Rio de Janeiro from the Brazilian capital Wednesday afternoon. The president of the Presidential Council was seen off at the military airport of Brasilia by Foreign Minister Abreu Sodre. On arrival in Rio, he was met by the governor of the State of Rio de Janeiro, Wellington Moreira Franco.

Shortly after his arrival Karoly Nemeth placed a wreath at the Tomb of the Victims of the Second World War and the Tomb of the Unknown Soldier.

Following lunch, the president of the Presidential Council saw the sights of the city.

Communique Issued

LD190036 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
2100 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Excerpt] Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, has spent the day in Rio de Janeiro. In the meantime, the communique on the Hungarian-Brazilian official talks has been issued. Gyorgy Bernard reports on the details:

[Begin recording] The Hungarian-Brazilian presidential talks were very successful. This was established by Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, and Jose Sarney, Brazilian head of state, in the communique issued on the visit. In the history of the two countries, this was the first meeting of this kind, which, mainly in the economic sphere, concluded more usefully than expected. After agreeing to a \$20-million order for technical equipment from Hungary, the promise of permission for \$30-million deliveries, and the laying down of principles determining the future of economic relations, the members of the Hungarian delegation can be

well pleased. This was also helped by the fact that, according to the two heads of state, the time has come for new, more balanced relations. These relations will expand by increasing Hungarian sales and joint manufacturing, establishing joint enterprises, and cooperating in third markets

Relatively less was said about world politics. However, for example, according to both Karoly Nemeth and Jose Sarney, the viewpoint formulated by the two sides on the decisive world issues were similar or at least close to each other. On the solution to the debt crisis, for example, they established that the true settling of affairs can only be possible by taking into account the just rights of debtors and creditors. [passage omitted] [end recording]

Further on Visit

For Brazilian-source reportage on the visit to Brazil by Karoly Nemeth, president of the Presidential Council, including his arrival at Brasilia Air Base, welcome by Brazilian President Jose Sarney, and visits to other countries, see the South America division of the 18 November Latin America *Daily Report* and subsequent issues.

Szuross Speaks on Significance of GOSR

AU171057 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
12 Nov 87 p 3

[Interview with MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros by Correspondent Andras Kanyo: "Dialogue About the Future—Interview with Matyas Szuros on the International Conference in Moscow"—date and place not given]

[Text] MSZMP Central Committee Secretary Matyas Szuros participated as a member of the Hungarian party and government delegation in the festive meeting organized on the occasion of the 70th anniversary of the GOSR, and at the informal international exchange of views dealing with the main issues facing the world. Our correspondent Andras Kanyo asked Matyas Szuros about his experiences.

[Kanyo] What is it that makes this year's festivities different from those of previous years? What are the impressions with which you returned home?

[Szuros] We awaited the two important events in Moscow with great expectations, because we were also directly interested in their success. I myself, who have been dealing with international issues for decades and who lived in Moscow for various periods of time, follow the changes under way in the Soviet Union with great interest and attention. We were not disappointed by the events. We saw also the implementation of our own views and interests at the festivities in Moscow because, together with other fraternal parties, we have also been

supporters of the renewal of socialism and of the communist and workers' movement for years, and we have tried to promote this renewal for years.

I still feel the influence of the festivities and of the exchange of views at the international meeting. In my opinion, these two programs were events of great importance which, one the one hand, were related to each other and, on the other hand, both had their own particular features.

The anniversary festivities also showed the changes and efforts toward renewal that have taken place in the Soviet Union in recent years. The CPSU celebrated the historical anniversary with less formality and in the spirit of openness and democracy, free of superfluous ornamentation, and concentrating primarily on the tasks facing the party and the country. The anniversary was a good opportunity for the Soviet leadership to evaluate the road followed so far and to consider the tasks facing the country, the party, and the people.

[Kanyo] What were the main features of the festive speech?

[Szuros] The papers carried Mikhail Gorbachev's balanced speech, so I do not have to inform you about that. However, I would like to draw attention to a few things.

From the point of view of the progress of both restructuring and social justice, I regard one feature of the speech to be a determining one, namely that it tried to eliminate the blank spots in Soviet history and to evaluate and analyze the events of the last 7 decades in a more differentiated way.

In the speech, Mikhail Gorbachev delivered at the festive meeting, and which arouse great interest, it was also asserted that we should not deviate from historical facts and from the truth. We should openly face the past in order to be able to conduct honest politics in the present and the future. I also consider it important to evaluate the current situation and the tasks following the end of the first phase of restructuring.

The fact that 163 delegations from 119 countries participated in the festive meeting, including the president of Finland and the representative of the Socialist International, shows the great interest and sincere sympathy manifested toward the processes under way in the Soviet Union by the international communist and workers' movement, and by world public opinion.

[Kanyo] What characterized the informal international conference?

[Szuros] I was deeply affected by the informal international conference organized in Moscow, with the participation of representatives of 178 communist, socialist, social-democratic, national democratic, and other parties, liberation movements, international organizations,

public, and mass organizations. The fact that such a broad exchange of views between political and social forces took place for the first time—119 delegations expressed their views in speeches or in writing—demonstrates the outstanding importance of this conference. I think I will not be mistaken in claiming that in the past 7 decades there has not been a similar attempt by representatives of parties and movements in the world with such different views to sit at the same table and discuss joint tasks in avoiding the dangers threatening mankind. The fact that—addition to representatives of communist and social democratic parties—representatives of other organizations and movements were also present at the conference increased the importance of the event. Only one or two important parties or organizations failed to attend, but I think that, if they study the material of the conference, they will also recognize that this was a useful meeting and they will also consider attending a similar meeting in the future.

I think that, in terms of both content and form, the meeting was original and forward-looking, and it can also mean the beginning of a historical new phase in the activity and cooperation of the left-wing and progressive democratic forces of the world. We, too, have to evaluate and organize the new thoughts that emerged at the meeting and at the parallel bilateral talks. This will be facilitated by what Mikhail Gorbachev promised in his concluding speech: The speeches delivered, and the speeches submitted in writing but not given because of the lack of time will be fully published in the Soviet press and in book form.

[Kanyo] What was the atmosphere of the meeting like?

[Szuros] To its very end, the meeting was characterized by a constructive atmosphere. It is also worth mentioning that, although questionable and contradictory opinions and views were voiced from time to time, these did not lead to a confrontation. One could see an effort to understand the other's position, and so the participants dealt with formulating their own positions rather than refuting differing opinions. This, of course, does not mean that anyone avoided controversial issues. In my opinion, these issues were tackled in a different tone from previous years, by recognizing the need for joint action, no matter what issues were on the agenda, the regional crises in Afghanistan, Cambodia, the Middle East, and Central America, or humanitarian issues and the assertion of the rights of national minorities. The Soviet leaders always followed the speeches with sincere interest and attention. I regard it as characteristic of the atmosphere of the meeting that the Soviet leaders reacted to views that were different from their own positions and to observations that were critical of the Soviet Union in an extremely diplomatic way.

Of course, as I have already mentioned, this was the first time that such a meeting had taken place. Therefore, we should not be impatient at the fact that mainly monologues and prepared speeches were voiced at the meeting

and a coherent debate and exchange of views have not yet emerged. But everything that was said at the meeting was constructive and really pointed ahead.

[Kanyo] In your opinion, how can one explain that, in addition to communist party representatives, a large number of representatives of social democratic and other left-wing parties and movements were also present in Moscow?

[Szuros] I think that the fact and the content of organizing this meeting precisely reflect the increasingly changing international relations, the urgent need for the renewal of socialism, and the realities of the international communist and workers' movement. The great interest was derived primarily from the fact that no responsible government or political factor can remain indifferent to the increasingly threatening problems of our age. Everyone is also aware that only broad international collaboration can solve these serious problems. Almost every participant stressed the need and demand for cooperation.

It should also be mentioned that the characteristics of the new Soviet foreign policy and the increase in the role of openness and publicity greatly contribute to the possibility of organizing such a new type of informal meeting and expanding the dialogue. The Soviet leadership has gradually modified its position concerning the meetings of communist and workers' parties, and in his festive speech Mikhail Gorbachev declared that the age of international conferences with obligations has passed. The atmosphere and content of the festivities concerning the 70th anniversary of the GOSR also positively affected the atmosphere of the meeting.

[Kanyo] In what do you see the value of such a meeting?

[Szuros] Generations to come will have to provide the final judgment, but viewing the matter through the eyes of a contemporary, it seems that this was a historic event. The concluding speech summing up the speeches at the meeting also stressed that this exchange of views had no losers, only winners. Concern over the main problems of our age, the need for common thinking, and the demand for a broad cooperation and information for the public led to the organization of this meeting. The meeting completely fulfilled these expectations and reflected the spread of new and responsible political thinking in line with the conditions of the nuclear age. Among other things, this was also reflected in Mikhail Gorbachev's remarks: "We should be far from thinking that all the positive changes that take place in the world are related to socialism."

The fact that the informal meeting can mean a new and modern form of cooperation between progressive and left-wing forces is of great importance, and it is no accident that every participant, without exception, welcomed this initiative. I also regard it as important that, irrespective of their party affiliation, the participants in

the meeting welcomed and supported and restructuring process under way in the Soviet Union, and the new Soviet foreign policy trend that requires a new approach and totally different thinking than previously toward solving international problems, and which carries at the same time the promise of establishing a new type of international relations.

[Kanyo] The series of events provided an opportunity for the leaders of communist parties to exchange views among themselves. We know relatively little about the content of these exchanges of views.

[Szuros] In the course of the exchange of views, it has been repeatedly proved that nowadays the solidarity between communists is embodied primarily in their common interests in guaranteeing peace, security, and social progress, as well as in safeguarding and expanding the workers' democratic rights. The strengthening of this recognition contributes to asserting the fact that an informal, democratic, and steady dialogue between fraternal parties with equal rights, a dialogue on both bilateral and multilateral levels, is indispensable in our changing world. Such exchanges of views encourage joint thinking with regard to the various means of serving the assertion of common interests, and help one to find ways of action. Therefore, in addition to the particular bilateral issues, the exchanges of views between the communist parties dealt with these problems of our age that are waiting to be solved.

The speaker at the festive meeting also stressed that, among other things, the strength of the communist and workers' movement lies precisely in the fact that this movement is simultaneously both national and international; along with national-level actions by individual parties, there is a need for new, modern, and coordinated international action in line with the conditions of our age. This type of cooperation, however, does not and cannot mean an attempt to make obligatory decisions, and still less the creation of some sort of "center."

[Kanyo] Today, the parties of the communist movement act individually and have equal rights. Does this reduce or strengthen the mutual solidarity and international responsibility of the fraternal parties?

[Szuros] The international revolutionary workers movement is already an accomplished fact, and, as Mikhail Gorbachev also stressed, "the parties have become totally and irreversibly independent." The international experience of the MSZMP shows that the sense of responsibility of the "grown-up" parties is strengthening and this inevitably leads to the renewal of their solidarity. Obviously, the parties are problem responsible to their own people but each party's success strengthens the entire movement, and, at the same time, a prestigious movement is a good background for the parties active within national frameworks. This recognition and the spreading of a corresponding practice are inseparable in the socialist world from the renewal processes under way

particularly in the Soviet Union, but also in China and in other socialist countries, a process accompanied by a new approach to the norms, forms, and goals of inter-party relations. The experiences of fraternal parties active in the capitalist and developing countries are essential elements of this new approach. The forces of socialism and other left-wing forces took great steps to create a peace movement based on joint action.

[Kanyo] What could you add to the short communique on Janos Kadar's talks with Mikhail Gorbachev?

[Szuros] The latest meeting between Janos Kadar and Mikhail Gorbachev was a continuation of the sincere, warm, and comradely dialogue that has become the tradition in recent years. Janos Kadar stressed that Comrade Mikhail Gorbachev's festive speech was important not only for the Soviet Union but represented a help also for other fraternal parties.

As a result of the similarity between the main goals and trends formulated in the Soviet restructuring efforts and in the Hungarian program of stabilization and development, we noticed a considerable Soviet interest in the Hungarian social and economic reform. On this basis, there has been a further strengthening of confidence and harmony in Hungarian-Soviet relations. The two party leaders each pointed out separately that, in addition to the particular features, the tasks facing each socialist country have largely identical qualities.

Mikhail Gorbachev received with great interest and understanding Janos Kadar's information about our consistent activity in implementing the program of economic and social development, a program accompanied by greater burdens than desired. The leaders of our parties took a stand in favor of developing Hungarian-Soviet relations, a development that will facilitate the increasingly effective solution of the tasks facing the two countries.

Kamara, Delegation Leave for Austria
LD181857 Budapest MTI in English 1105 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Budapest, November 18 (MTI)—Heading a delegation, Janos Kamara, Hungarian minister of the interior, left on an official visit to Austria on the invitation of his counterpart, Karl Blecha. Talks are to be held at the Austrian Ministry of the Interior.

Delegation Meets Finnish Prime Minister
LD190100 Budapest MTI in English 0811 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Helsinki, November 18 (MTI)—On Wednesday Finnish Prime Minister Harri Holkeri met the visiting delegation of the Hungarian Patriotic People's Front headed by General Secretary Imre Pozsgay. The talks were attended by Arpad Hargita, Hungarian ambassador to Finland.

Grosz Meets With Greek Ambassador
LD182236 Budapest MTI in English 1712 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Budapest, November 18 (MTI)—Karoly Grosz, chairman of the Hungarian Council of Ministers, Wednesday met Emmanouil Kalpadhakis, ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary of the Hellenic Republic to Hungary. The meeting was held on request of the Greek ambassador.

MSZMP Official on Pluralism, Berecz Proposal
LD161049 Budapest Domestic Service in Hungarian
1500 GMT 14 Nov 87

[Interview with Erno Lakatos, director of the MSZMP Central Committee Agitation and Propaganda Department, by correspondent Bela Gyori; date and place not given—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] On Wednesday, the MSZMP Central Committee discussed at its session international and foreign policy questions and ideological work. [passage omitted]

[Gyori] The MSZMP declared as early as the end of 1956 that it was not striving for a monopoly in ideology; its aim was to create hegemony. Implicit in this statement is that it accepts pluralism in ideology and thinking. We have long been wary of this word. This word can also cause much misunderstanding. This word was uttered many times at the Central Committee session [on 11 November 1987].

[Lakatos] It is not a word or a concept, it is the interpretation of an entire policy. When the party openly undertook to declare and accept that in ideological terms and in terms of world outlook pluralism existed in Hungary, it did nothing more than acknowledge, which in those days was courageous, that different kinds of ideology, different kinds of outlook, and different kinds of views were prevalent. This fact made it possible, for instance, to place the entire policy of alliance on new foundations, because this pluralistic attitude, for example, made it possible to develop long-term and lasting relations between the churches and the state. [passage omitted]

[Gyori] The MSZMP Central Committee has now dealt with ideological questions. A stance has been born. What will be the fate of this stance now?

[Lakatos] An interesting situation, or at least a situation different from previous ones, developed at the Central Committee session. The Central Committee did not produce a resolution, one that is issued as a decision that must be implemented. It merely discussed the submission and discussed the verbal amendment of the submission which was presented to the Central Committee by Central Committee Secretary Comrade Berecz. This is stated in the communique. It decided to approve theses on the basis of the debate, and it will send out the theses

on the instruction of the Politburo and the Central Committee to all our party organizations and all ideological and scientific workshops with the request that they should debate them, discuss them, and formulate stances in connection with them. I could say that this will be a wide-ranging party debate. The material thus collated and enriched with all the things produced by scientific methods by our scientific and ideological workshops will give the real stance and platform regarding the answers to today's questions, to ideological questions.

This is a new method, a method of joint work, work carried out in conjunction with all the party members, a method that already promises a great deal of success.

Daily Comments on Differing Economic Reports
AU181349 Budapest NEPSZABADSAG in Hungarian
16 Nov 1987 p 1

[Article by Ervin Tamas: "Numbers and Facts"]

[Text] We are living in difficult times. Not a day passes without some ranking politician commenting on our difficulties, some economist diagnosing the troubles of the economy, or a conference, session, meeting, or symposium that all very correctly shares with the public the ways and means of analyzing the situation and of solving the problems. Well, we are prepared for this. Production, consumption, and the desired equilibrium of the foreign trade balance sound familiar to us. We can find our way through the surplus and deficits; we know what efficiency is; and although we do not easily befriend rehabilitation, we understand and feel that economic recovery cannot take place without reducing losses and budgetary subsidies.

We are living in lean years, and one can understand this, but....

The Ministry of Industry announced some time ago that during the first 9 months of 1987, the chemical industry increased its production by 6.3 percent, thereby providing 20 percent of all industrial production. In addition, the chemical industry is again expected to emerge as the country's biggest exporter. We are happy to see that this sector is an island in the slightly stormy sea of the people's economy, it can be considered an exception, and its work can set an example for other sectors. Well, if people elsewhere worked like this and were able to show such significant improvement from one year to the next, we would not now need drastic measures, new loans, or even a development program; but then we find out that other sectors work even better than the *l'ae* chemical industry:

In its publication of 15 November, MTI announced that not only did the average profitability of enterprises increase by 16.5 percent in 1987—which clearly indicates a very strong improvement in their activities—but losses were 22.1 percent less than the losses in the same period in 1986. Even countries having to fight fewer

problems than Hungary could be envious of that. But among the experiences summarized by the Tax and Financial Control Office, the most surprising experience is the fact that profits in the mining industry doubled, and grew by 70 percent in metallurgy. As a consequence, we could even think that the Hungarian mining and metallurgical industries are, perhaps, the world's most rapidly improving, despite the fiascos at Ozd and Tatabanya. (According to this balance, only the machine industry did badly, since it suffered from a 8.7 percent drop in profits).

According to the statistics summarized by the Tax and Financial Control Office, there is nothing wrong with the export of the products either, because the enterprises' income from exports grew by more than 6 percent. The income from exports accounted in currencies other than the ruble grew particularly dynamically and exceeded the incomes in the similar period of 1986 by 17.5 percent. Again according to the news, hard currency exports grew at a significantly higher than average rate in light industry and the building material industry, in addition to the chemical industry, but the improvement in the mining and metallurgical industries is also considerable (the machine industry is again below average; this sector was able to increase its exports to a smaller extent).

This is not yet the end, because another piece of good news reaches the readers to the effect that, despite the publicly known complaints, enterprises and cooperatives increased their fixed assets by 5 percent; and that in production costs, there was a favorable change in the specific cost of materials and energy; only expenditures on wages increased. The last sentence of the item is a little disturbing. According to it, the operating expenses of the enterprises grew more quickly than expenditures on production and marketing and therefore profitability is reduced, but this does not really matter, this blemish can be tolerated beside so much happiness and such a great improvement.

But it is justified to ask why it is necessary to make efforts to pull the cart if it is not really in the ditch. Because such a sweeping improvement in enterprise profitability must obviously indicate a sweeping improvement in work practices.... But we may also approach the issue from a different angle and ask if the reader should believe the accounts concerning the difficulties or the ones concerning the successes of the enterprises. The greatest problem arises if he has to believe both. The anomalies in the Hungarian economy are reflected in the evaluations. Thus, the reader becomes a little confused. He is not confident when he has to identify the difference between success and failure, whereas it is precisely the common, or if you wish, all-national recognition of this difference that constitutes the first stage of the road leading to success.

Of course, this is mainly true when the difference between success and failure can be clearly seen in reality.

Pal on Scientific Research in Decisionmaking
LD161146 Budapest Television Service in Hungarian
1800 GMT 15 Nov 87

[Interview with Lenard Pal, secretary of the MSZMP Central Committee, by unidentified reporter; time and place not given—recorded]

[Text] [Reporter] In your book that was published recently under the title "For Scientific and Technical Progress," you write that numerous decisions are made that have no scientific justification. How, in your opinion, could the role of science be increased in the preparation and making of decisions?

[Pal] I think this is a very important question. In order to enable scientific research to occupy its proper place in the process of decisionmaking, what would be needed is that it should be present at the very beginning in developing the possible alternatives. In my conviction, very favorable changes have taken place recently in the relationship between politics and science. In numerous cases it would be useful if we could involve a wider circle of citizens in the preparation of decisions, and if we did not regard the citizens merely as people who implement decisions, but rather as people shaping policies and as active participants in the preparation of decisions.

[Reporter] In this context, let me add that dissenters [maskent gondolkodo] were mentioned at the Central Committee session. Very often dissenters are regarded as heretics today, because they say things that are not fit for good society, that are unpopular. And then it turns out a year or two later—occasionally even a month or two later nowadays—that today's heresy is tomorrow's orthodoxy, that is, it becomes a generally accepted view.

[Pal] We must break with the idea that proclaims that there is only one salutary solution, only one salutary answer for the questions that arise. The situation, the reality, has many aspects, is complex, and full of contradictions, and in this way, by applying Marxist methods to analyzing the contradictions of reality, it is possible to reach different conclusions. It is true that until now we have not shown much tolerance to this.

So, first of all I would say that greater tolerance is needed toward surprising, new opinions or ones that are perhaps radically different from those already in existence. We must fight with arguments and reasoning, and must abandon the view that in every question only the center is capable of designating the sole salutary solution.

I consider it particularly important that we should embrace initiatives from below and give room for self-organization, self-management, and spontaneous creative initiatives. After all, the fact that such a society has developed in our homeland whose members are convinced about their own political competence, who accept the role, who accept participation in the solution of the

burning problems of society—this fact shows how successful our policies are. Not to embrace this, not to provide the necessary support for this would be a serious mistake.

[Reporter] You write in your book that giving recognition to intellectual work is in the basic interest of our economy. You quote a French example in which money spent on culture, on the human factor, counts as a very important investment in production, that is, money spent on productive and money spent on nonproductive activities are not separated. In Hungary, an unskilled worker reaches the upper limit of his income category immediately, while the skilled worker reaches this in 5 or 6 years—the average for his category—whereas the intellectual worker reaches the average income of his category only at the age of 55. What needs to be done in order to provide greater recognition to culture, to the grey cells so to speak?

[Pal] Transforming social consciousness in order to enable intellectual work to be put in its proper place is a very important task. No sudden rapid changes can be expected because the improvement of a situation that is already bad comes about only gradually. It is the enterprises that can do most in this regard; the central task is for the enterprises to get into such a position that recognition of intellectual work should be a matter-of-fact activity, or if you like, an economic necessity, to recognize these to a greater extent than before now.

[Reporter] My impression is that we Hungarians do everything belatedly. In other words, a long time passes between recognition and action. Today, for example, we say that there is not enough money to pay an income to the technical intelligentsia because the economic situation in the country is what it is. However, in this way we reconcile ourselves to the fact that the situation in the Hungarian economy will not improve either. This is because by the time we have sufficient money to improve the material position of the technical intelligentsia, they will suffer further handicaps.

[Pal] On several occasions, indeed, we have been late with our decisions. However I could give a whole series of examples of our having been the first among socialist countries; we have been the first to declare things, including very important, very significant tenets. I would add this, lest one gains the impression that we in Hungary miss everything. This view is expressed in certain writings. At the same time, I would not want to keep silent about the essence of the matter, namely that in several cases we should have acted earlier. In the sphere of recognizing intellectual work, the technical intelligentsia, steps should have been taken a long time ago. I do not think that presently what is at issue can be described as procrastination. Amidst this difficult situation, what is at issue here is the search for an optimum solution. I am certain that the enterprises, on the one

hand, and the government, on the other, will soon take the necessary steps because we are all sure that without this resurgence is impossible.

[Reporter] Speaking frankly, it causes anxiety that while our income system is regressive, our new tax system is progressive. In other words, in the area of intellectual work, both systems simultaneously point in the direction of egalitarianism in the direction of cutting down output.

[Pal] The tax reform, the price reform must be followed by an income reform. The elaboration of an income reform must be started as soon as possible and steps must be taken soon to enable us to gradually correct this process of levelization, of distorted income ratios.

Leaders' Public Appearances 6-10 Nov

AU131203 [Editorial report] Budapest *Nepszabadsag* in Hungarian from 7-11 November reports on the public appearances of the following leaders between 6-10 November (date and page number of each report given in parentheses):

Frigyes Berecz, deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers, attended the opening ceremony of the polluted water treatment and distilling installation at the Pet Nitrogen Plant on 6 November. (7 Nov, p 4)

Csaba Hamori, member of the MSZMP Politburo and first secretary of KISZ, paid a working visit to Szolnok County on 10 November. (11 Nov, p 5)

Jaruzelski Departs 19 Nov for Greece

*LD191007 Warsaw PAP in English 0820 GMT
19 Nov 87*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 19—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski today left for Greece to pay an official visit at the invitation of Greek President Christos Sartzetakis.

18 Nov PRON Council Proceedings Reported

Pre-Referendum Talks Viewed

*LD191016 Warsaw PAP in English 0013 GMT
19 Nov 87*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—The National Council of the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth PRON today held a session to discuss the course and hitherto results of social discussions preceding the nationwide referendum. Wojciech Jaruzelski and Roman Malinowski took part in the debates.

An appeal was issued to citizens calling on them to take part in the referendum.

The session was opened by Jan Dobraczynski.

In the discussion representatives of local links and councils of the movement pointed to matters most frequently touched upon by citizens during meetings and talks with members of the committees for referendum affairs. It is important to note that public opinion is dominated by a conviction as to the need to speedily introduce radical changes in the economy and the ways of governing.

The re-organization of the central apparatus already put into effect stirs hopes for real changes but, nonetheless, there are widespread postulates to continue the changes on lower levels of government.

We attach great importance to the contents of the communique from the 224th plenary conference of the episcopate of Poland which is permeated by a conviction that coming to grips with the crisis requires joint social efforts, stated Jacek Krzekotowski, a PAX activist from Lodz. We have read the short but extremely important report on the meeting between president of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski and Primate Jozef Glemp with great interest and satisfaction. It is obvious that it is impossible to upgrade the level of social morality without ensuring equal rights of participation in social life for all citizens, regardless of their world outlooks but always in agreement with the professed world outlook, Krzekotowski stated.

The referendum is struggle, stated Prof. Jerzy Wiatr. We will be faced with three different stances in the referendum. With a stance of engagement and support, of both those who for a long time and consistently joined the process of socialist renewal and those who are joining

this process just now. We will encounter stances of mistrust, doubt and scepticism. We also discern a stance of active hostility. In the recent period we are observing an activation of forces hostile towards renewal, associated, this way or another, with the underground, forces which want to impose confrontation and provoke the state authorities. Wiatr continued.

For instance, through open and demonstrative moves violating the law. The farce of the foundation of the "Polish Socialist Party" is a case in point. The response to this matter is correct, it ties a principled stance with such an amount of moderation as the current situation allows for. But this is not only a matter pertaining to the state authorities. This is a matter of political struggle of all those forces which in PRON's ranks have engaged themselves in the implementation of this programme, the essence of which is contained in the questions of the referendum, Wiatr pointed out.

The National Council has positively opined the candidacy of Prof. Ewa Letowska to the post of ombudsman. She is 47, works at the Institute of the State and Law of the Polish Academy of Sciences as head of the team for civil law. She has published 60 scientific papers and 3 books. Prof. Letowska is non-aligned.

Dobraczynski Address

*LD191000 Warsaw PAP in English 0005 GMT
19 Nov 87*

["Jan Dobraczynski's Address—(Abridged)"—PAP headline]

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—While accepting our referendum initiative, the Sejm adopted the text of two questions which will be presented to citizens in eleven days from now. Our task is to call on society to answer those questions.

Reference to the "Polish model of democratization of the political life" means that we recognize changes which took place in Poland in the past seven years and that we are of the opinion that it is necessary to follow such a road.

A "yes" answer to the second question of the referendum will be an expression of consent to all mechanisms of openness and consultation, which were already introduced and those which are currently in the phase of development.

While voting for the strengthening of self-government, we will feel enabled to start work on the amendment of the law on people's councils and territorial self-government.

In tune with the principle of the strengthening of autonomy we will aim to accelerate work on a new law on associations, which would create broader than the currently existing conditions for establishing and pursuing

civic activities in the field of culture, economy, small industry and all types of services. Our stand is that associations' activity must be in compliance with the imponderables of national life and constitutional principles.

The second question refers in the explanation to "expansion of civic freedoms." From this point of view we should undertake activities aimed at further liberalization of the institution of censorship.

We think that the tightening of the 1985 law on special penal responsibility should be abandoned.

PRON will strive for further democratization of the electoral law.

We want to support efforts for creating chambers of vocational self-government: economic, agricultural, medical chambers and the like.

The second question includes a call for greater participation of citizens in governing the country. From some time now, PRON recommends for various state posts persons who have proved themselves in PRON's activities and gave evidence of their usefulness. We will continue to make such proposals.

The matter of principle is the strengthening of the conviction for the need of the entire society's participation in the act of choice of, we believe, a faster and more efficient road towards improvement of life of our families, our children, our motherland. This will be a bold manifestation of confidence in our capabilities.

Politburo Discusses Housing Situation

*LD190150 Warsaw PAP in English 0123 GMT
19 Nov 87*

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—The PUWP CC Political Bureau Considered yesterday the package of immediate, extraordinary to same extent, measures put forward by the minister for spatial planning and construction and accounting for the suggestions made by the Patriotic Movement for National Rebirth (PRON), all-Poland Alliance of Trade Unions (OPZZ), and by youth organizations. Implementing the measures in an urgent manner will open possibilities to break through the impasse in housing.

In particular, the political bureau deemed indispensable the following: fundamental simplification and considerable shortening of the procedure for acquiring and priming land for housing construction, acceleration of the development of building materials production, through carrying active financial and tax policies that would strongly spur the manufacture of products indispensable to housing, and also through higher productivity, an increase in the productive potential in various types of ownership, and through other means as well.

Full and radical introduction of the principles of the second stage of reform into housing must be equivalent to a firm improvement in management effectiveness.

The Political Bureau appealed to the Council of Ministers to consider and put to life the immediate and directional proposals of actions in order to intensify housing construction.

The bureau pointed to the reappearing in the media over recent weeks numerous signals and views by representatives of the medical environ about the poor situation in supplies to health service, especially in those of medications, dressing materials and the like. The government members explained the reasons for that situation and reported on the actions that had been taken to alleviate the existing shortages.

The governmental decisions, it was said, including increased allotment of foreign currencies to domestic industry in order to purchase the necessary components for the manufacture of Polish pharmaceuticals and sanitary materials as well as imports of life-saving medicines which will improve the medical supplies in general. The government was instructed to make periodic reports on the issue.

The Political Bureau acquainted themselves with the report on the implementation of the resolutions adopted in August this year on combatting economic irregularities.

Manifestations of violation of the law, disregard for social interest, ill-management, waste of productive agents, poor product quality, and liberalism in enforcing execution of duties are still frequently encountered. These phenomena hinder the development of national economy and give rise to social dissatisfaction. To combat them is a duty of party structures and organizations.

Organization of lavish events and jubilees can also be classified as a social malady. In the present situation of the country it is a social and economic imperative to trim festivities of various kind to modest dimensions. Any attempts at by-passing the imperative should be prevented by self-management, trade and party organizations.

The Political Bureau resolved that the first part of the 6th Central Committee Plenum will be held November 25, while the other in the first half of December. The plenary debate will pertain to the problems of deepening the socialist renewal as a condition of speeding up Poland's development.

The Political Bureau expects that, pronounced within the party, in allied parties and among the non-affiliated, the opinions, considerations, and conclusions about the issues discussed in the already published report, will find their reflection in the debate at the Central Committee plenary session and will allow for considerable enrichment of the premise of the adopted resolution.

Confiscated Solidarity Equipment Displayed
LD190012 Warsaw PAP in English 1110 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—Various kinds of gas weapons, eavesdropping equipment, containers with knock-out gas, electric clubs make only some of items confiscated by Polish customs officers and prosecution organs and displayed to Polish and foreign journalists here on Wednesday. The attempted smuggling of these objects from Sweden was earmarked for the needs of the illegal structures of former "Solidarnosc".

The correspondence of former "Solidarnosc" leaders revealed in the shipment gives a lot to think about. In one of his letters head of the Brussels-based office of "Solidarnosc", Jerzy Milewski wrote: "In fact we have no money for the purchases of equipment for NSZZ (Independent Self-Governing Trade Unions) 'Solidarnosc', and the (?row) in the country to urge L.W. to publicly resign from accepting subsidies from the U.S. Congress (?gobbles) all our time and nerves.

"The fact that some leading activists of 'S' and democratic opposition want to kill NSZZ 'S' stone-dead is no wonder, but that our regional leaders (i.e. 2 times B) withhold their opinions fills me with horror," wrote Milewski to one of the activists of former Solidarnosc. Let's add that L.W. stands for Lech Walesa while the "2 times B" (?Zbigniew Bujak and Boan Borujewicz).

'Commission for Referendum Affairs' Meets
LD190011 Warsaw PAP in English 2006 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—Preparatory work on the referendum is proceeding correctly, according to the activities timetable and legal regulations compiled by the Council of State, stated the central commission for referendum affairs at its meeting today.

On the day the lists of citizens eligible to vote were made available, that is on November 14, they covered 26 million 807 thousand people, stated the chairman of the commission, Adam Lopatka. This number could change as complaints and corrections are introduced as a result of subpoenas supplied by courts and other institutions. The subpoenas concern people who are not eligible to vote as a result of legal incapacitation or stripping of public rights as well as those not taking part in the referendum while serving prison terms or staying abroad.

The central commission for referendum affairs recommended that all local commissions double the number of compartments with curtains as compared to the previous elections to the Sejm (parliament).

Wozniak Addresses Party Meeting on Referendum
LD180050 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
2025 GMT 16 Nov 87

[Report on open party meeting held in Garwolin on 16 November to discuss the upcoming referendum; Marian Wozniak answers questions posed by unidentified speakers—recorded]

[Excerpts] [Announcer] I welcome you cordially to Garwolin, to the first television meeting prior to the referendum. Good evening. Attentive readers of the weekly television program guide doubtless have noticed that we will be meeting daily at more or less this hour. While on Sunday, 22 November, we will have the pleasure of being guests at your home as many as six times. [passage omitted]

After a meeting at a building site, at the hall of the Garwolin construction enterprise, at 1600 there began an open—one should say very open—party meeting. For if one were to count the number of party members in relation to the total number of people present, then the openness of this meeting becomes evident. Now, if we are ready, I would like to ask for an approximately 12-minute excerpt from this meeting: Twelve minutes to be precise. Let us take a look.

[Begin recording] [Question] Will the second stage of the economic reform be the last stage? Or are there going to be further ones, since it will turn out that the previous ones did not succeed? That is the first question. The second question is: the first item in the referendum speaks of a 2-3-year period of rapid changes that will improve the living conditions of the community. We already know perfectly well what the first stage of the economic reform brought us and how it was felt by society. I have some comments on that here, that we have not had a program put forward, for example. What will be brought in 1988 and what in 1989? I, voting in the referendum, simply am not fully aware of what will happen if I vote yes.

[Wozniak] The few years of the reform have settled several matters for us in an excellent way. I want to recall, so that comparisons should not be so easy, that we say that a serious price operation has to be carried out (?and it is) compared to 1982. I just want to say that in 1982, we came in with empty shelves and the price operation was an effect of the shortage of products and goods, and it had completely different targets in view. These targets have absolutely no connection with what is being proposed today in the reform's assumptions. So in 1982, in a fairly brutal way, we had to adapt possessed production or manufactured production to...[corrects himself] Ah, no, to adapt wages to production, to the goods we possessed. There was no market at all. Please recall those shops. The situation is completely different today. If somebody shouted then that there was no flour or sugar and today complains that he cannot get a color television, then I am in solidarity with his complaint. I

am very glad that, at least, we have progressed from a shortage of flour and sugar to that of the color television. There is progress. Is the progress satisfactory? Probably not. The point is to forget that dissatisfaction into constructive action. Furthermore, we don't want citizens to choose a specific option. We just want to know if they approve of more radical (?moves) in general. And this seems to be simpler, because if we had asked about various options, I can say that we aren't all economists, after all, except for calculating our budgets. We have to do that, but it still isn't economics; it's normal, everyday life. However, people might be upset at being asked to choose something they don't quite understand, so that is why we are asking in a more ideological way (?for) support for serious, radical reform.

If we decide on a serious restructuring of prices and incomes, it is only to achieve quick results, so we are talking about a 2-to-3 year period. But this does not mean that after this period everybody will be well-off; it is a period for setting up the correct mechanisms for enterprise operations and finally establishing correct market prices. But the development of our state will depend on whether productivity increases in our enterprises, whether technical and technological progress is applied and whether we develop. I say clearly: Reform is not a piece of equipment which can be rented and which will do work for us.

[Question] There is talk about the market situation, that we are to have a balanced market; but I think that at the moment the work of enterprises is not balanced. I ask the comrade secretary, (?Who is well-informed): How relevant is taxation on enterprises? Fifty percent goes for depreciation. Sixty-five percent is linear tax [podatek liniowy], the tax on (?gains)—the so-called FAZ [fundusz aktywizacji zawodowej—Professional Incentive Fund] and a tax on earnings. If we add (?all that) up, then enterprises...in this situation, I'm amazed that they are capable of functioning normally; and at how far we still are from the market. We are dreaming about some market equilibrium, when I don't see equilibrium in the work of enterprises. That is to say, there are no cohesive mechanisms. If, at this moment—if we were to try sum it up as I have done—if coherent mechanisms were introduced without any objections—that is, if we didn't do anything, if we didn't raise any prices—I think that we would have about 500 billion zlotys in savings.

[Wozniak] Just look: In the first stage of the reform, enterprises got full independence to set wages based on their income; and they fought for that independence. In fact, the specialists on the reform said: Well, if the enterprise is self-managing and is to be independent, then let it decide for itself. Look, we constantly complain that in enterprises the ratio of wage increases to increases in productivity, and in production is not coherent—and I am using your word. This means that wage increases, as decided by the enterprise, outstrip work productivity and production increases.

There is one question. This is one of the causes—not the only one—one of the causes of inflation. Are we to take these decisions and create a central system again; or are we to count on enterprises at some moment beginning to rectify that ratio? After all, in view of the lack of that ratio, the tax, the 12 and 1/2 percent tax was born—which is greatly criticized—and the FAZ tax. How do you see that? When...

[Question] I see it very simply; and I think I was just talking about those mechanisms.

[Wozniak] That means that we have the same intentions, but I don't understand that mechanism, because with you it is the slogan "coherence". One would have to sit down and take a look at how to do it. I think we won't be able to discuss it fully during this conference, but I am ready to discuss it afterwards.

[Question] I, as a Polish citizen, would like to find out what the more profound democracy will consist of? After all, we are a democratic state and the word "democracy" should be in the full meaning of the word. [Wozniak] Democratization: This is something for which we have been striving for so many years, the right to speak out in my society about our common affairs, the right to demand that it be heard by those I am addressing, and the right to make decisions or to influence decisions on which I can have the most influence. The self-management system in the enterprise has enormous rights and now we want to go further. Self-management and the peoples councils in the towns and parishes, one of the main subjects—which in the immediate future, which in any case we are also working on in the government-party commission, and in the Council of State and in the government—it is a transition from the reform of the center to the reform of the voivodship and parish. [sentence as heard] The purpose of the existence of some institutions in the voivodship should also be verified. We want, and we are moving in the direction of creating conditions so that parishes and towns, and particularly peoples councils, are managers who start to manage money, and earn and spend it themselves.

General Jaruzelski said at the last CPSU Congress that there would not be a differentiation between party members and nonparty members, or between a party member and a former Solidarity activist.

How is the Basic Party Organization's position in the self-managing enterprise anticipated, how is it to be organized, after the relinquishment of the party personnel nomenclature?

In reality we treat the matter of the nomenclature differently. Today we talk about party recommendations, and for example we say something like: We have removed the party recommendation from the director. What does that mean? That means that the director was assessed by the party, in which he is a member by choice, as a person who has not fulfilled the criteria, which

would justify him being recommended for the post, and he should himself offer his resignation. We are leading up to this and that mechanism is starting to function. He resigns. Simultaneously we say to party candidates: Listen, you fulfill the criteria and enter the race for director.

I want to say one more thing. The party's role in the enterprise has certainly changed fundamentally over 8 years. We still continue to be at the stage of searching for good solutions. We cannot dispel all the doubts of the secretaries with some kind of reply today. One reply is undisputable: The party must work with people and the effect on the state and the party will be greater if those are the best people. That means that we ought to know how to find the best people among party members.

Let us move to the second question which functions admirably with this but also supports the nonparty members who distinguish themselves. Here one of the comrades questioned in turn cited Gen Jaruzelski. Gen Jaruzelski, as first secretary, declared that there are equal opportunities available. Well, I think that equality of opportunities we try to demonstrate in all possible places, where we have contact with it, in races for director, and in putting forward candidates for directorship posts in other forms, and also within the framework of interparty accords, within the framework of the central structures of the state. [sentence as heard] However, one ought to say that a directive, or a certain idea, must be implemented on all platforms and in all spheres, and this practice can be different [as heard].

[Question] Do Western economies tell us the sincere truth about what we also get from our media? Such statements do appear. If Radio Free Europe and other broadcasting stations started to appeal for taking part in the vote, I personally would not go to vote.

[Wozniak] Generally speaking, there are serious people all over the world and they do not like to seem not serious. A serious person who lives in the other part of the world, when faced with a serious issue, gives a serious answer. That is why serious economists view the problem of the Polish economy in a serious manner, that is, they consider what the potential is, what the possibilities are, and what transpires from all this, and they provide serious answers.

In addition, the Monetary Fund is an organization that specializes in economics and not in preparing political coups. However, all the members of the Monetary Fund exert an influence on it and most probably those who would like to manipulate it could have an influence on it. People asked questions like: What were we afraid of? Good. If we want to obtain credit from the Monetary Fund, they will demand political concessions from us. First, we are not prepared to give any political concessions, so to speak. Apart from that, serious financial institutions do not demand political concessions. This is a talk based on the principle; we give you the credit to cover a specific undertaking, which will give such and

such a result. The Hungarians, the Third World countries, many of them take advantage of this fund. They look at it from the point of view of the efficiency of their economy. Here the answers are clear.

However, Radio Free Europe has not been hired [wynajeta] to deal with issues of providing credit to various countries, but to deal with different aims. These aims are completely clear when one has listened to it for 12 years or so. From time to time, very nice things appear there. They appeal to our patriotic feelings. I respect this. Now, however, with the mechanism of persuading people to take part in the referendum, I think that if somebody is really concerned about Poland's interest, one ought to say this: If I can obtain the opinions of all Poles on the subject that will determine Poland's development, this probably is the right thing to do. In this situation, if somebody who wants to apply some manipulating on such an occasion, then it seems to me that an ordinary Pole should disregard these manipulating suggestions.

When it comes to the questions, whether difficult or obscure, this is a natural thing, I think. [end recording]

[Announcer] If, despite the pressure of events, we are able to come back to this meeting tomorrow, at least for a few minutes, we definitely will do so, ladies and gentlemen.

Sadowski on 2d Stage of Economic Reform

AU181714 Warsaw TRYBUNA LUDU in Polish
16 Nov 87 pp 1, 3

[Interview with Prof Zdislaw Sadowski, deputy premier and chairman of the PPR Council of Ministers Planning Commission, by Waldemar Mickiewicz and Jerzy Sieradzinski: "Concerning Reformers, Reforms, and Several Other Matters"—date and place not given]

[Excerpt] [Passage omitted] [Mickiewicz, Sieradzinski] Why did the government decide to submit this program, which has been drafted by competent specialists, for public consideration by way of a referendum? Some of our readers think that this is an attempt on the part of the government to shed responsibility for whatever might not work out and to transfer the burden of responsibility to society. Thus, is it a form of insurance?

[Sadowski] No one intends to free the government of responsibility, or to reduce its degree of responsibility. The government is and will remain fully responsible for the implementation of its own program. The government has asked the Sejm to approve its program. The Sejm, however, considered the proposed changes to be so deep and far-reaching that this called for a decision on the part of society in the form of a referendum.

Our condition is one of ill health, and we need treatment. The government has proposed a program that is so radical that it should allow us to cure our illness as quickly as possible. However, if a sick person himself

decides that he will not undergo the operation that has been proposed to him, this certainly does not mean that treatment will be stopped. All that it means is that the course of treatment will be continued by other means; it will have to take longer and may even entail more severe symptoms. This is the choice that exists. In both the first and the second case, the government is responsible for the extent to which the treatment is effective.

[Mickiewicz, Sieradzinski] To keep to this analogy, we would like to ask if the government, in which you play such an important role, is a sufficiently new team of "surgeons" to guarantee that the mistakes that its predecessors made in operating on the patient will not be repeated? In a word, is this a team "from another school?"

[Sadowski] First and foremost, there was talk of the need to perform an operation in the past but an operation was never started. The situation today cannot be compared with what happened in the past. The present program is not only new but also entirely unique.

You asked if the government is in a position to guarantee that the reforms that it has proposed will be successful? No one can give guarantees of this kind, if, of course, one considers the question in a serious and responsible manner. After all, it is not something that depends solely on a group of 20 people. It depends, above all, on the degree of social involvement. That is what will ultimately guarantee the success of the reform. I have also noticed that discussion of the second stage of the reform has produced a significant increase in the level of social activity, which augurs well for the future. Will it be possible to maintain this level of social involvement in the reform process and extend it? I cannot answer this question, but it is something that I would like to see happen.

Is the government team that will implement the reform program a new one? I surely do not have to convince anyone of that. Everyone can see that there are new people in the government. However, I think that experience is also necessary. If the government was made up exclusively of new people who had never had anything at all to do with issues of this kind in the past, then I do not know what grounds there would be for being certain that they could guarantee that the reform would be successful.

I can understand that people show an interest in the new faces in a government, and usually people are inclined to place more confidence in them for a short time. However, this whole matter is more complicated than is generally believed. There must, quite simply, be a system for selecting the right people. The scepticism that we encounter is, of course, justified in view of our experience and the failure of previous reforms. We do not, I

think, take account of the fact that the current reform differs significantly from all previous reforms and that it is based on a thorough examination of the reasons why all previous reforms failed.

All previous reforms were based, first and foremost, on the assumption that it is possible to change just one part of the system and not the system as a whole. Unlike any previous reform, the present reform is a comprehensive one. It is linked to far-reaching changes in the sociopolitical system. It is almost impossible to go any further, although I do not exclude the possibility that new, constructive proposals can be made that will enrich our program. But no serious proposals of this kind have been made thus far. We cannot take seriously proposals to introduce a 19th-century style capitalist market economy. People who make suggestions of this kind tend to forget or pass over in silence the fact that an economic system of that kind would result in mass unemployment. So far, no one has put forward a serious program that would be an alternative or supplement to the actions that we have proposed. This is also something worth knowing. [Mickiewicz, Sieradzinski] Until recently there were vociferous calls for private sector units to enjoy the same conditions under which nationalized enterprises operate. The reverse is true today. More and more often nationalized enterprises, especially state enterprises, want to operate in a way similar to private firms and companies (pay taxes, be able to dismiss employees that are not needed, and so on). What do you have to say about this?

[Sadowski] We really are dealing with a sort of paradox. With regard to pay or the question of employment, the conditions that apply to private firms are less strict than those that apply to state enterprises. The main reason for this is that it is very difficult to adapt the entire socialized sector, which is very large, to the new organizational forms that exist for our economic life. Of course, this does not mean that today private sector units have an easier life than state enterprises in every area and in every respect. That is not the case. Let us just consider the opportunities for obtaining supplies that the two types of partners enjoy. What I want to say is that there are basically many different aspects to the situation.

We want, above all, to eliminate as quickly as possible the reasons for illegal conduct, speculation, excessive incomes, and greed in the private sector that stem from the faults that existed in the previous policy concerning this sector of the economy. In speaking about faults in the previous policy, I am thinking of the extensive "administrative" and "regulatory" methods that were applied to all private sector activity. This permitted only certain people to engage in such activity, and they could thus enjoy something of the luxury of having a monopoly. Above all, there was a lack of firm principles for activity in this sector, which made people inclined to become greedy and chase after a fast, easy, and not always legal profit.

It is our belief that a socialist economy needs a permanent complement in the form of private enterprise. It can assume the role of the main pillar of the economy, but there are areas that are particularly suited for the development of private enterprise. Catering, retail sales, and various services are examples. The idea of larger enterprises that take the form of companies that are part state-owned and part privately-owned has already been tried out in other countries, in the GDR, for example. These companies have passed the test very well, and there is no reason why we should not benefit from this experience.

However, to return to the question, I would like to stress that the idea that equal principles ought to apply to activity in all sectors must be observed in practice. I agree that there really ought to be equal principles, concerning pay, taxation, and so on. However, I would stress that the principles should be equal but not identical, because there cannot be some kind of artificial unitary system, if only because the principles according to which people are paid are different in the two sectors. The state sector will always find it easier to obtain access to various social benefits than the private sector. We must also take into consideration the fact that the income obtained by owners of private firms is used not only for consumption purposes but also to replace assets and maintain production. Thus, it is a question of creating and observing equal principles for activity in all sectors. [passage omitted]

Daily Views Church-State Relations

AU181927 Warsaw ZYCIE WARSZAWY in Polish
11 Nov 87 p 3

[Zdzislaw Morawski article: "Dialogue in Many Spheres"]

[Text] During the recent session of the world synod of bishops in Rome, there was talk of church-state relations in various parts of the world. At a press conference held by French bishops, someone asked about the significance of mutual dialogue. Answering this question, one French Catholic activist mentioned Poland as an example. He did this in order to justify the thesis that dialogue between the state and the church is the best form of cooperation and the best way to overcome problems that may occur between a lay structure whose activity covers all the affairs of a given society, in other words the state, and a religious organization encompassed by state structures, in other words the church.

I think Polish society is well aware of the fact that in many respects, our country is clearly becoming a model of dialogue in terms of its forms, principles, and results.

In an interview for the Italian Catholic monthly *Il Regno* over 1 month ago, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, primate of Poland, reminded Italian readers about the framework and structure of this dialogue. Apart from contacts

between bishops and the local authorities, he also mentioned permanent contacts at central level, between the Episcopate and Office of Religious Affairs; the regular meetings of the Joint Government-Episcopate Commission; and the periodic meetings between the head of state, Wojciech Jaruzelski, and the primate of Poland, which constitutes the highest level of dialogue.

The very mention of the above facts illustrates that dialogue is taking place, and that this dialogue is dealing with every topic likely to appear on the agenda when the point of view of the state, which is responsible for everything from the economy right up to education, encounters the point of view of the church, which is mainly concerned with moral and moral-social topics, and which therefore considers itself responsible for the spiritual life of believers, not for prices, supplies, or foreign policy.

Perceiving this difference tasks and scopes of responsibility, one must nevertheless realize the link between on the one hand the attitudes of the huge majority of Poles who are believers or who at least recognize the church as a moral authority and identify themselves with it, and on the other hand this church's relations with the state. This link determines the importance of mutual relations for the whole of our society.

The thesis whereby the condition of church-state relations is one of the factors determining the climate in Poland is a canon of Polish state policy. That is why we have been able to say for a long time, without fear of exaggeration and regardless of the upheavals of the past, that state-church relations in Poland are unfailingly good and are devoid of the tension that sometimes occurs even in countries where the power of the authorities derives from their Christian origins.

Unfailingly good does not mean that these relations are stagnant. Dialogue, conceived in broadly institutional forms, is bringing results both in the form of concrete decisions or concessions and in the form of joint assessments involving a revision of well-worn epithets.

Much can be said about decisions. We all remember the fruits thereof—the State Council chairman's visit to the Vatican and Pope John Paul II's visit to Poland, not to mention the preparations to establish diplomatic relations between Poland and the Holy See, in favor of which John Paul II spoke in Warsaw. This really is a lot for a single year.

It is difficult to draw conclusions here. But what one can do is discuss clear trends, and even processes. I observe two such trends on the part of the church. The first concerns the meaning of patriotism, a kind of pillar of the best traditions of Polish Catholicism and the source of its social standing. A few years ago, some church circles viewed patriotism as a moral value isolated from the realities of today, and therefore isolated from Poland's postwar statehood as well. There were even

attempts now and again to combine the concept of patriotism with the concept of state and thus create a misty and surreal vision of an "alternative state," or even "antistate," which in any case was never accepted by the church hierarchy. The years of dialogue, which not only means correct relations, but also cooperation between the church and the state in many spheres, have already completely eradicated these aberrations which surpass all logic.

The church, and not only the Polish church, does not want to become incorporated into any state mechanisms. It wants to retain its identity, including the right to make criticisms, which in any case is a social phenomenon accompanying any reforms.

But where national interests and the common welfare, closely connected with the state's role and position, are at stake, the church in our country holds a position stemming from the conviction that its place and interests as an organization are shaped by its relations with and influence on the state, and even by its criticism of some state decisions, and not by negative attitudes. The truth of this has been confirmed during the top-level visits and talks I mentioned previously; during the talks on establishing diplomatic relations with the Vatican; and, most recently, during work on settling the church's legal status.

However, I think the greatest confirmation of this is provided by the text of the communique following the latest session of the Polish Episcopal Conference. Stressing the importance of profound economic reforms and simultaneous sociopolitical changes, the Polish bishops said that "economic progress is not the work of just one political group or the result of a few political factors; it is the work of broad strata of society. In order to complete this work, spontaneous ideas from individuals and independent groups have to be harmonized with and incorporated into the efforts of the state authorities."

The second trend involves the process of consultation with the state on many subjects. Cardinal Glemp spoke about this in his *Il Regno* interview, pointing out that if the subject of the church's legal status in People's Poland is to be tackled honestly, then consultations on this subject must accept as their point of departure the permanence of the political framework within which an accord between the state and the church is to be made and within which it is meant to function. In other words, the church, preserving its natural world outlook on the subject of materialism and basing itself on postwar experience, needs have no fear of its position in Polish socialist reality.

Such a view is not free of implications, but the process behind it is clearly progressing. The years of dialogue, uninterrupted even during the most dramatic moments, have certainly led to a revision of thinking among representatives of the state authorities.

The concept of pluralism is understood differently today than it used to be. Today one is considerably more aware of one of the essential consequences of pluralism—the status of believers not only among society, but also in the state. It seems to me that here too, we are faced not with a final concept but with a constantly developing process, though it is developing not without opposition and doubt.

In any case, this process has led to an increasingly clear distinction between, on the one hand, the ideological commitment of the political forces that exercise a leading role in the state, and on the other hand the stance and policy of the state itself, which has been and remains secular.

The democratization of socialism, an international process, cannot take place in Poland without active participation by as many believers as possible, who form the majority of our society. It is increasingly clear that the authorities realize the theoretical and practical consequences of this. Dialogue in this sphere is bearing fruit and is accelerating the difficult process of translating into practical terms a concept whereby pluralism is a synonym for democracy, even under our political conditions.

All these phenomena not only permit the view that state-church relations in Poland are shaping themselves favorably, but also show that we are dealing with constant progress, which is having a favorable effect on the entire climate of civic life in our country.

Committee To Rebuild National Theater Meets
LD190023 Warsaw PAP in English 1359 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—The setting up of an honorary committee of rebuilding the national theatre created a new chance for the theatre partially destroyed by the fire two years ago.

The committee, headed by Zbigniew Messner, comprises ministers of construction, finance and culture, representatives of Warsaw authorities, theatrical milieu, journalists and Army men.

Addressing the inaugural session here today, Zbigniew Messner said he would like the committee—established mainly on the initiative of Jan Dobraczynski—to be efficient. This is to be secured by the powers of the gathered persons, he added.

The meeting made a decision on the location of technical installations—to be constructed near the old building of the theatre—which will solve the problems of theatre's subsidiary premises and fire protection.

USSR Justice Minister Kravtsov Visits
LD171036 Warsaw Television Service in Polish
2149 GMT 13 Nov 87

[Text] Premier Zbigniew Messner has received USSR Justice Minister Kravtsov. Our reporter Henryk Suchar asked the guest for a brief statement.

[Begin recording in Russian with superimposed Polish translation] [Suchar] Can you briefly assess the results of your visit to Poland, and what is the state of relations between the Polish and Soviet Justice Ministries)

[Kravtsov] Speaking briefly, I assess the visit by our delegation to Poland very positively. There has long been cooperation between our ministries. We have an agreement on legal assistance concluded in 1957. Our meetings in Moscow and Warsaw have become a regular practice, and they are held at various levels. We will continue to improve our activity. To be specific, we understand restructuring first of all as more law-abidiness [praworzadnose]. It is also justice toward people and high culture. So we are improving our activity. Here I am thinking of the introduction of amendments to the existing legislation. Penal, civil and labor legislation will change considerably, and all this is related to a profound reshaping of economic mechanisms.

[Suchar] There is still a lot ahead of you.

[Kravtsov] Yes, indeed. We are nearing the completion of changes in penal legislation. We believe that there will be new bases in the next year. The changes follow the direction toward democratization, and similar changes are to be introduced to the penal code. Everything will be simpler and more comprehensible. [end recording]

Israeli Daily Interviews Jaruzelski
TA171850 Tel Aviv YEDI'OT AHARONOT in Hebrew
17 Nov 87 p 1, 12

[Report on interview with Polish Leader Wojciech Jaruzelski by special correspondent in Poland Sever Plotzker; in Warsaw on 15 November: "Poland Would be Glad To Help Achieve Peace"]

[Text] "Israeli-Arab peace can only be advanced in an international peace conference," Polish leader General Wojciech Jaruzelski told *Yedi'ot Aharonot* 2 days ago, in the first interview of its kind to an Israeli journalist.

"Poland will be happy to take an active part in a peace initiative in the region if it can be of practical use," although Poland is "a medium-sized country which should know its right place," Jaruzelski added.

He said he agrees with the view that Poland's economic reforms, which will begin to be implemented soon, are a government move toward a market economy. "We are drawing on the ideas of economist Oscar Lange" [name as published] (a Polish Jew, father of the theory of market socialism)

The interview took place within the framework of a meeting of a small group of economic editors of Western newspapers who were invited to Poland to attend a symposium on the economic reforms planned there.

As an Israeli journalist, I received special treatment, and in every interview, whether on television or in the press, it was stressed that I was an official Israeli guest.

In a referendum 2 weeks hence, Polish citizens will be called on to vote on the planned economic reforms in their country. The reforms also contain a democratization process and the granting of citizens rights on an unprecedented scale in the eastern bloc.

The Solidarity Organization called for a boycott of the referendum, but among its leaders—several of whom I met—there is a heated debate over whether a complete boycott would be wise.

Delegates Address UN Committees in New York
LD181115 Warsaw PAP in English 0009 GMT
18 Nov 87

[By PAP correspondent Ludwik Arendt]

[Text] New York, Nov 17—The Committee for Political Affairs and Security of the U.N. General Assembly adopted a resolution calling on all states for activities for the peaceful use of space and prevention of arms race in space.

Poland was among the states that supported the resolution. Its representative, Ambassador Noworyta expressed the deep conviction that space should not become an arena of arms race.

He recalled that at the 40th session of the General Assembly chairman of a Polish delegation Wojciech Jaruzelski had suggested that, under the auspices of the U.N. secretary-general, outstanding experts of various nationalities should prepare a study on varied consequences of the militarization of space.

Such a study has been worked out by the U.N. Institute for Disarmament Research and it will be published soon.

The study is a positive example of the constructive approach on the part of experts representing diversified viewpoints. It might strengthen efforts for halting arms race in the world and preventing such a race in space.

Poland's delegate Mieczyslaw Gorajewski supported at the forum of the Special Political Committee the idea to create the new world information order as an important step in the democratization of international relations in the domain of information.

More on Visit by Vietnamese Assembly Group

Received by Jaruzelski

LD182239 Warsaw PAP in English 1615 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—President of the Council of State Wojciech Jaruzelski received here today a delegation of the National Assembly of the Socialist Republic of Vietnam, led by the assembly's chairman Le Quang Dao.

The sides reviewed the state of bilateral relations and exchanged information on efforts aimed at the implementation of tasks linked with the restructuring of the social and economic life in both countries. The sides stressed the special role of parliaments of both nations in these efforts.

The meeting was attended by Speaker of the Sejm Roman Malinowski.

Concludes Visit

LD182041 Warsaw PAP in English 1501 GMT
18 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—An official delegation of Vietnam's National Assembly, with Chairman Le Quang Dao, concluded their Polish visit today.

Also today Polish-Vietnamese plenary talks were held in the Sejm. Vice-Speaker of the Sejm Mieczyslaw F. Rakowski told his guests about the tasks of the Social-Economic Council, mentioned the possible transformation of the council into a second parliamentary house that would be given a self-governing character, and presented the activities of the consultative council at the president of the Council of State [sentence as received].

Chairman of Vietnam's National Assembly Le Quang Dao conveyed to Vice-speaker Rakowski his thanks for the Polish society for the assistance extended to his nation. He also invited Sejm Speaker Roman Malinowski to pay an official visit to Vietnam.

The talks in the Sejm closed the programme of the visit, during which the guests also acquainted themselves with the social-economic development and the problems of the industrial province of Katowice.

Conference on Baltic States' Security, Ties LD181121 Warsaw PAP in English 0031 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 17—"Baltic Countries on Security and Cooperation in Europe" is the main motto of an international scientific conference that started in Szczecin today. Scientists from Poland, Denmark, the GDR and Sweden are taking part in the conference organized by Szczecin University.

During the four-day debates, scientists will deliver reports on participation of social movements in solving questions of peace and security, the role of the Rapacki Plan in the process of de-nuclearizing Europe, cooperation of Baltic states and its all-European significance. Scientists will also present regional problems linked to the policy of peace and security in the region of the Baltic.

GDR Farmers Party, ZSL Deepen Cooperation LD190014 Warsaw PAP in English 2050 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Text] Warsaw, Nov. 18—On the third day of the visit of an official delegation of the Democratic Farmers' Party DBD to Poland its head, DBD chairman, Vice Chairman of the Council of State of the German Democratic Republic, Guenther Maleud met with President of the United Peasants' Party, Sejm (Parliament) Speaker Roman Malinowski.

The talks resulted in an executive protocol on cooperation between the UPP and the DBD between 1988-1989. Referring to the provisions of the protocol the heads of both parties expressed mutual satisfaction at the constantly deepening contacts between the UPP and the DBD which contribute to the strengthening of the ties between both socialist states and nations.

A joint communique from the talks held by the leadership of the UPP and the DBD was also adopted. The communique reads, among other things, that the unquestionable character of the treaties of Yalta and Potsdam, the inviolability of borders and respect for the sovereignty and territorial integrity of all European states are the premise for lasting peace in Europe. The sides stressed the significance of the peace initiatives of the Soviet Union and other socialist countries, especially all the proposals of Mikhail Gorbachev, for the strengthening of peace and an improvement of the international climate. The growing international activities of the UPP and the DBD and their participation in multi-prong cooperation between peasants', centre, liberal and allied parties are important for the peace dialogue in Europe. The UPP and the DBD attach special importance to issues of international cooperation, especially in the field of the food industry and natural environment protection, the sides stated.

Soccer Fans Describe Anti-Ceausescu Riot

AU191021 Vienna DIE PRESSE in German 19 Nov 87
p 2

[Text] Vienna/Bucharest—On Wednesday [18 November] Romanian football fans in Vienna for the [Austrian-Romanian] soccer international reported on anti-regime riots in Brasov. According to these accounts, several hundred workers of the Red Star Tractor Factory gathered and marched to the County People's Council last Sunday, [15 November] the day municipal elections were held all over the country. They are said to have smashed furniture, burned red flags, and torn photographs of State and Party Leader Ceausescu from the walls in the building, where a polling station had been set up. The crowd sang patriotic songs altered in a way critical of the regime.

Ethiopian Leader Visits Pitesti Municipality

AU182002 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1929 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/11/1987—November 18, President Mengistu Haile Mariam, secretary-general of the CC of the Workers Party of Ethiopia, president of the People's Democratic Republic of Ethiopia, and his party, visited Pitesti Municipality.

The guest was accompanied by Ion Stoian, alternate member of the Executive Political Committee, secretary of the CC of the RCP. Upon arrival, the Ethiopian leader was greeted by Constantin Zamfir, first secretary of the Arges RCP County Committee, chairman of the county People's Council.

The visit started at the Pitesti Petrochemical Combine where the distinguished guest was informed about the activity deployed there for the higher capitalization of crude, the technical equipment of the combine and the technico-functional performance of the installations designed and made in Romanian enterprises.

The next objective of the visit was the car-manufacturing enterprise, one of the representative units of the Romanian machine-building industry. The Ethiopian head of state learned about the performances of the cars made in Pitesti and was told that the Dacia cars were exported and appreciated in numerous countries of the world. The hosts also showed that the experts of the enterprise were further concerned to increase production and diversify the range of cars, update the manufacture flow.

After he had traversed the thoroughfares of Pitesti Municipality which had been renewed by recent urban planning, the guest saw round the Woodworking Combine. The hosts described aspects of the development of the enterprise and stressed that the combine processed the wood in a wide range of products. The guest was

highly interested in the chemicalization of the wood mass and evinced the possibilities for collaboration in this domain between the relevant units in the two countries.

President Mengistu Haile Mariam signed the visitors' books of the visited units, praising the results scored and wishing working people there success in their activities.

Foreign Minister Pays Official Visit to UK

AU190830 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
0731 GMT 19 Nov 87

[Text] London, AGERPRES, 19/11/1987—At the invitation of the Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs Geoffrey Howe, Romania's Foreign Affairs Minister Ioan Totu paid an official visit to Great Britain. Their talks covered the development prospects of the cooperation between Romania and Great Britain and the specific ways to increase and diversify trade, economic, scientific and technological cooperation in step with the potential of the two countries' economies, to promote their relationship in all areas as well as internationally.

The exchange of views on current international issues concentrated on aspects of common interest, with the stress falling on the great efforts that all countries should make to stop the arms race, nuclear first and foremost, to eliminate nuclear arms in Europe and the world over, to solve the states of conflict and tension only by way of negotiations, to liquidate nuclear development and achieve a new international economic order.

The Romanian foreign minister also met with executives of the Department of Trade and Industry, the Board of Foreign Trade, the British Aerospace, with representatives of business firms and circles, and with members of parliament.

Elena Ceausescu Addresses Science Meeting

AU181934 Bucharest AGERPRES in English
1804 GMT 18 Nov 87

["Plenary Meeting"—AGERPRES headline]

[Text] Bucharest, AGERPRES, 18/11/1987—Wednesday, 18 November, Bucharest hosted a plenary meeting of the National Council of Science and Education. It analysed the activity carried out in 1987 for the implementation of the tasks set in the field of research and education, as well as the targets for the year 1988.

During the proceedings the floor was taken by Elena Ceausescu, chairman of the National Council of Science and Education. In 1987 a number of good results have been achieved in Romania's economic development, said the speaker. The technical and material base went on expanding, new technically and economically better products have been developed, greater both agricultural and industrial productions have been turned out, which

led to a rise in the social product and in the national income as compared to the previous year. At the same time there has been intensified the assimilation of machines and pieces of equipment, materials and products meant to be exported, to help diminishing imports and to meet some of the needs of the national economy.

While presenting the 1988 plan of scientific research and promotion of technological progress, the speaker underscored the need for efforts to focus on the main goals and problems posed by industrial and agricultural production, on the full implementation of the programmes of scientific organization and modernization, mentioning that as many as 1600 enterprises have already been included in these actions.

Greatest attention must be further paid to ensuring the base of raw materials needed by the economy, special stress falling on the intensification of geological study, the promotion of more efficient mining technology, the enhancement of efficiency of deep drilling and hydrocarbon extraction from the Black Sea, the speaker said.

In the power generation sector stress falls on increasing the reliability of equipment in power stations, diminishing consumption, eliminating loss in the electric grid, developing the new coal-fired stations in due time.

Special stress falls in the Romanian research programme on the use of new and recoverable sources—solar energy, biogas, wind and geothermal water—and the expansion of the area of their use, so that they may ensure the equivalent of nine million tons of conventional fuel in the country's balance of energy.

In the processing industry research will focus on modernizing products and technologies. In the metallurgical field the target is to improve technological processes, assimilate and produce new brands of steel and other materials, to expand the fabrication of highly-processed iron-and-steel products, the assimilation of new types of rolled goods and pipes for nuclear power generation, aircraft industry and other peak branches.

Research in the chemical and petrochemical industries is meant to help better capitalizing [as received] oil, natural gas, salt, nonferrous metals and other raw materials, to develop the fine and small-tonnage industry, to assimilate special types of elastomers, polymers, synthetic fibre and yarn, plastics, technological paper and cardboard, extrapure materials and semiconductors, dyes, catalysts, medicines, cosmetics, etc.

In 1988 the heavy equipment and machine building industries must attain a level of production renewal higher than the 60 percent mark, and the electronic and electrotechnological ones—67 percent.

Referring to agriculture, Elena Ceausescu showed that research in the field must contribute to a greater extent to achieving high, safe and stable crops, to intensifying

the creation of new more productive and better resisting strains and races, to the reclamation of fields which are not productive at present, and to the implementation of the plan regarding irrigation and other land improvement operations.

In the field of investment research is faced with the task to shorten the time required for the working out of blueprints, to diminish the consumption of material and energy, to enhance the standardization and mechanization of operations.

The chairman of the National Council for Science and Education also highlighted the mission of fundamental research in mathematics, physics, chemistry, biology and other domains which should be conducted in close relationship with applied research. The speaker stressed the need for a closer cooperation between the various components of the national system of scientific research.

Elena Ceausescu also emphasized that Romanian scientific research would have to further and actively participate in international technical-scientific cooperation, in the implementation of the complex programme for the technical-scientific progress of CEMA countries, of other international cooperation programmes concluded by Romania.

The speaker also referred to the tasks incumbent on education in ensuring the work force and the improvement of staff training on a par with modern technology. Multiskillfulness, the permanent improvement of the training of all the categories of working people are getting more important, the speaker underscored, pointing to the need for an ever closer integration of education with research and production to train staff able to easily adapt to rapid changes, to work with the same skill in several trades.

"Education must be permanently done through work and for work", Elena Ceausescu said in conclusion. "The future proper conduct of the young people in production, in the economic and social life, in the entire activity of fulfilling the plans and programmes for the country's development depends on the way in which they are educated in school, in the spirit of discipline, order and responsibility".

Radio, Papers Urge Public To Save Energy

AU181430 [Editorial report] Following the publication in Bucharest *Scinteia* and *Romania Libera* on 11 November of the "Decree on Measures to Rationalize Consumption of Natural Gas and Electricity," there has been an increase in the number of items in the two papers and on Bucharest Domestic Service in Romanian related to energy issues and energy consumption, urging the public to save energy "to the utmost."

Scinteia and *Romania Libera* in their issues dated 11 to 16 November carry on pages 2, 3, or 5 of the various issues a number of articles and reports, with advice on how to save energy, ranging in length from between 1,000 to 2,000 words. Most of them are published under common headlines such as "Saving Natural Gas and Electricity to the Utmost—a Priority Requirement and Patriotic Duty of Every Working Man and Every Citizen," "It Is a Great Patriotic Duty of Every Working Man and Every Citizen To Use Energy With Maximum Care," or "Energy and Natural Gas Saved to the Maximum."

Bucharest *Scinteia* on 12 November begins its series of items with a note saying that "On the basis of data supplied by the electricity network, *Scinteia* proposes to systematically follow energy consumption in the counties and economic branches." It then proceeds to tell its readers how much electricity is consumed by a 40-watt bulb in 10 hours; a refrigerator in a day; a washing machine in 2 hours; and a vacuum cleaner in 1 hour. This is followed by "a few practical measures that must be applied immediately": "There should be only one bulb in each room, and it should only be lit when needed; high-voltage bulbs should be replaced by low-voltage bulbs; illuminated areas in homes should be reduced strictly to what is necessary; no electrical household appliances should be used for work that can be done by hand; and by no means should the front of dwellings, balconies, yards, garages, and storage areas be illuminated." Likewise, "gas stoves should be used only when absolutely necessary; uneconomical gas stoves should be

replaced; the use of kitchen gas stoves for heating living quarters is prohibited; and the insulation of boilers and pipes should be checked and repaired."

Both dailies also draw special attention to the fact that "consumption of natural gas and electricity in nonproductive activities should be reduced by at least 30 percent."

The items in the other papers are in the same vein.

Likewise, Bucharest Domestic Service main radio newscasts, at 1100, 1400, and 1800 GMT, which normally begin with local-level economic reports, now often begin with short reports on the energy-saving measures taken by various industrial units throughout the country.

Briefs

New Types of Vessels

A new product, a 2,500 dwt general cargo boat, also used to transport containers, has been added to the fabrication list of the ship building and hot-metal working enterprise in Drobeta-Turnu Severin. The new cargo boat is in an advanced building stage. Recently the aforementioned enterprise has assimilated in fabrication the 2,000-ton barges. Since the beginning of this year, the experts of the enterprise have succeeded in increasing to 47.1 per cent the share of the new and updated products in the marketable production. [Text] [Bucharest AGER-PRES in English 1816 GMT 18 Nov 87 AU]

Zagreb Workers Join Work Stoppage
*LD182318 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 2000 GMT 18 Nov 87*

[Text] Zagreb, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—Workers of the second shift at the Nada Dimic clothing factory in Zagreb this afternoon joined the work stoppage started this morning by 560 workers of the first shift. The work stoppage is the result of low personal incomes, full warehouses, and, as the workers stressed, inappropriate systemic solutions.

Nada Dimic does not operate at a loss, and every fourth product is intended for the convertible currency market. The stockpiling and decline in sales, which are clearly felt within the collective, have caused dissatisfaction among the workers. This is compounded by low personal incomes and price increases following the intervention measures. Deviation from agreed production plans and the failure to fully use the capacities, it was stressed in Nada Dimic, were other reasons for the work stoppage.

Talks Held To End Skopje Workers' Strike
*LD182046 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1905 GMT
18 Nov 87*

[Text] Skopje, November 18 (TANJUG)—Workers of several large enterprises today went on strike in Skopje, capital of Yugoslavia's Republic of Macedonia, protesting over the latest price increases and demanding higher wages.

Work has stopped at the Alumina complex, Skopje refinery, Elektro-Skopje, Skopsko Polje agricultural-industrial complex and the 11 Ktomvri automobile factory.

Around 1,000 workers of the Alumina complex, which is under receivership, rallied in front of the Republican Assembly Building.

Yesterday, Skopje steel workers rallied at the same place. The steel workers' demands for a salary increase were met.

The Alumina workers demanded that the complex's leadership be held responsible for bringing the combine into a difficult situation.

Officials assured them that bankruptcy proceedings would not be instituted, that the complex would receive funds to cover last year's losses and that their salaries would be increased by 71 percent.

At tonight's special session, the Skopje League of Communists Committee assessed that the workers demands for higher salaries were justified.

The demonstrations were assessed to be the result of the workers not being adequately informed, a blockade of self-management and the result of manipulation.

Skopje's economy is in a very difficult situation because 103 enterprises, employing 35,000 workers, are suffering losses. The total losses are estimated at around 85 billion dinars—around 65.5 million dollars.

Macedonian top-level officials this evening had talks with representatives of federal institutions—the League of Communists of Yugoslavia (LCY) Central Committee Presidency, government, trade unions and chamber of economy—on the government's latest measures in order to alleviate the consequences on the republic's economy.

The Yugoslav Government last weekend adopted an anti-inflation program which limits incomes and the prices of most products.

The government also decided to significantly raise the prices of oil, electricity, transport and food in order to remove the disparity. This raises living costs by around 16 percent and brought non-liquid enterprises into an even more difficult position.

FEC Examines Anti-Inflation Program
*LD182312 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1803 GMT 18 Nov 87*

[Excerpts] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—At its session today, the FEC examined the implementation of the program for reducing inflation and stabilizing the economy; the law on limiting general, joint, and personal expenditure; and the decisions in the area of prices. As announced by the Federal Secretariat for Information, it was stated that the executive councils in the republics and provinces and other competent organs have adopted measures within their powers for the implementation of the program. However, it was established that in some collectives they are not fully informed of the measures adopted, and some incomplete interpretations have been observed. The competent federal, republican, and provincial organs will continue to monitor the realization of the measures adopted, and will recognize and resolve individual open issues as required.

The FEC also examined certain questions in connection with the implementation of the law on financial recovery and the liquidation of organizations of associated labor and the law on overall earnings and income. The council was acquainted with the situation in certain work collectives in which there have been work stoppages and which recorded losses in their 9-month accounts, and which must apply the provisions of these laws. The FEC believes that in organizations of associated labor that have a guaranteed development and demand on the foreign and domestic markets, all available resources should be used to create conditions for overcoming the problems that have arisen, while for organizations without prospects a way out should be sought in new production programs and restructuring. The FEC will, in the next few days, propose the extension of certain solutions in the accounting system relating to questions of the revaluation of social funds.

At today's session, the FEC established the draft resolution on the policy of realizing the social plan of Yugoslavia in 1988. It also established the draft decision on the projected balance of payments of the country in the coming year, the draft decision on the basis of joint issue and monetary policy, and the joint bases of the credit policy in 1988, as well as the draft budget of the federation for next year.

The draft resolution, the announcement says, is founded on the program of measures and activities for lowering inflation and stabilizing the economy. The orientations of the resolution and program together with systemic changes already carried out and pending, other programs and strategies, make up a united whole for the realization of the long-term program of economic stabilization and the implementation of the decisions of the 13th LCY Congress.

In drawing up the draft resolution, the intervention measures in the area of prices, personal incomes, and general and joint expenditure which will be in effect in a part of 1988 were also borne in mind. [passage omitted]

Also of crucial importance is the realization of the program of consolidating the foreign debt and the program of consolidating domestic debts.

According to the planned socioeconomic development in 1988, a real growth of the social product of two percent is envisaged, a growth in employment of one percent, labor productivity of one percent, and gross investment in capital assets of 2.5 percent. The growth in industrial production should be in the range of at least two percent, agricultural production four percent, while exports of goods and services should increase by about 4.9 percent and imports of goods and services should increase by about 4.9 percent and imports of goods and services by about 7.6 percent. The foreign tourist trade should increase by about three percent, while domestic tourism would be maintained at this year's level.

The total expenditure of the federal budget for next year will amount to 5,769.8 billion dinars according to the draft law. The federal budget participates in the assessed social product of the country with 6.5 percent and is considerably lower than envisaged by Yugoslavia's social plan for next year.

In the preparation of the draft budget, the provisions were taken into account of the law on temporary restriction on managing a part of social resources of sociopolitical self-managing interest communities for consumption in 1988. For this reason, the funds for the Yugoslav People's Army and the additional funds for economically undeveloped republics and Kosovo are reduced by 5 percent each, while funds for the other beneficiaries of the federal budget are established on the basis of realized earnings this year increased by a rate that is lower by 10 percent than the rate of the assessed income of Yugoslavia's economy.

The draft decision on the projection of the balance of payments for next year envisages, among other things, a surplus of the current balance of payments on the convertible market to the amount of \$670 million, which would ensure an increase in foreign currency earnings.

The draft decision on the goals and tasks of the joint new money issue and monetary policy and on the joint foundations of the credit policy for next year envisages that measures in this field must be in the function of reducing the rate of inflation, boosting economic growth, and improving the balance of payments, especially the increase in exports.

In keeping with the orientation and needs for carrying out a restrictive credit-monetary policy, it is envisaged that the money supply should be increased in 1988 by 27 percent compared to the level of December this year, and bank investments by a maximum of 21 percent. Orientation remains that support should be given to carrying out a selective credit-monetary policy, while the policy of realistic interest rates will be regulated so that the interest rate would be calculated on the basis of the current inflation movements and increased by 2 percent of the annual inflation rate. [passage omitted]

The FEC also endorsed a draft decision on securing funds for boosting the technological development of Yugoslavia next year. The funds to the amount of 79.38 billion [currency not specified] would be provided by the federation, republics and provinces. All the draft laws and decisions have been submitted to the SFRY assembly, it is stated at the end of the communique of the Federal Secretariat for Information.

Kosovo Constitution Ruled Unconstitutional
LD182336 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1252 GMT 18 Nov 87

[Excerpt] Belgrade, 18 Nov (TANJUG)—The provisions of the Constitution of the Socialist Autonomous Province of Kosovo on the "equal application" of languages in the province are contrary to the Constitution of Yugoslavia. The citing of Albanian in the first place contravenes the Federal Constitution that unambiguously sets out that the languages of the nations are in official use in the country, and the languages of the nationalities are in use in accordance with the constitution and the federal law.

This is the stance of the Constitution court of Yugoslavia, which will express its views on this major issue in a letter to the SFRY assembly.

Today's debate did not last long, since all the judges supported the interpretation and argumentation of the judge-rapporteur Bozidar Bulatovic. Elements cited in the discussion in fact confirmed even more strongly the view that the constitution of Kosovo is contrary to the Yugoslav Constitution. [passage omitted]

Mojsov Meets Ethiopia's Mengistu on Arrival
*LD191211 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1148 GMT 19 Nov 87*

[Text] Belgrade 19 Nov (TANJUG)—President of Ethiopia Mengistu Haile Mariam arrived today on an official and friendly visit to Yugoslavia at the invitation of the SFRY Presidency. The Ethiopian guest was met and greeted at Belgrade airport by Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency.

Official Yugoslav-Ethiopian talks at the highest level will begin this afternoon. Mojsov and Mengistu will exchange opinions on the possibilities of furthering bilateral cooperation and on international issues.

Bulgarian Foreign Minister Pays Visit

Received by Mikulic
*LD171426 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1303 GMT 17 Nov 87*

[Text] In Belgrade today, FEC President Branko Mikulic received Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov, who is on an official visit to our country.

In their conversation, during which Federal Secretary of Foreign Affairs Raif Dizdarevic also participated, opinions were exchanged on bilateral economic ties between Yugoslavia and Bulgaria, on problems in the field of international economic relations, and on some issues of the internal development of the two countries. It was stated that some decrease in trade has occurred and that both sides should take steps to return trade to its planned level. It was stressed that it is essential to engage in developing higher forms of cooperation, particularly joint investments, industrial cooperation, and scientific-technological cooperation, and it was particularly emphasized that there are great possibilities for expanding ties and cooperation in the development of cross-border trade.

Mikulic and Mladenov assessed that it is essential to begin resolving the problems faced by developing countries as soon as possible, in particular the problem of their great debt. Debt repayments should be in accord with the realistic capabilities of individual countries, considering that only through economic growth and development can the payment resources be gained to meet their obligations.

Meets With Orlandic
*LD171729 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1312 GMT Nov 87*

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—Marko Orlandic, member of the LCY Central Committee Presidium held talks today with Petur Mladenov, member of the Bulgarian Communist Party Central Committee Politburo and Foreign minister of the People's Republic of Bulgaria, who is paying an official visit to our country.

In a conversation that was held in an open and cordial atmosphere, there was a substantial exchange of opinions on issues of mutual interest. The development of relations between the LCY and the BCP was positively assessed and mutual interest was confirmed in their diversification and constant expansion.

Also pointed out during the conversation was the need for the development of political dialogue in all important issues of interest for the development of stable relations and cooperation between the two countries and parties. Both sides assessed that such a development of cooperation, for which wide possibilities exist, also should serve gradually to overcome recognised problems in mutual relations.

The two sides positively assessed the latest trends in the contemporary (?world and) progressive (?movements), particularly in the socialist countries, and stressed their importance for the enrichment of the idea and the practice of socialism in the world.

Discusses Issues With Dizdarevic
*AU171615 Belgrade Domestic Service in Serbo-Croatian
1400 GMT 17 Nov 87*

[Text] Yugoslavia and Bulgaria attach great importance to the agreement on the removal of medium- and short-range missiles from Europe, the acceptance of which would eliminate a whole category of nuclear weapons. This shows that the world could live without this and other kinds of weapons and that, through the participation of all other countries, relations in the world could be built on trust rather than on the power of arms and the right of those who are stronger. This was concluded by Raif Dizdarevic, federal secretary for foreign affairs, and Petur Mladenov, Bulgarian foreign minister, in their final talks devoted to topics concerning international issues.

During their meeting they concluded that the signs of political willingness regarding negotiations on prohibiting chemical and other weapons have been noted. Raif Dizdarevic briefed the Bulgarian foreign minister about the results of the Mediterranean nonaligned countries summit in Brioni and the activities of the nonaligned countries.

The Bulgarian minister will conclude his visit to our country today and will leave Belgrade this afternoon.

Received by Mojsov
*LD171736 Belgrade TANJUG Domestic Service
in Serbo-Croatian 1524 GMT 17 Nov*

[Text] Belgrade, 17 Nov (TANJUG)—President of the SFRY Presidency Lazar Mojsov today received Bulgarian Foreign Minister Petur Mladenov. In a warm and cordial atmosphere, opinions were exchanged on the development of relations between the two countries. It

was stated that more favorable conditions are arising for even more successful cooperation in all spheres between the two neighboring, friendly socialist countries.

The assessment was made that cooperation should be directed toward everything that brings closer together and links the people of the two countries, thereby also creating conditions for resolving existing open questions. Both sides expressed the conviction that in this respect favorable possibilities are arising today in the framework of broader tendencies for the overcoming of divisions in Europe and the world, as well as in the Balkans. In connection with this, the importance was particularly stressed of the forthcoming meeting of the foreign ministers of the Balkan countries in Belgrade, which is expected to contribute to greater confidence and the opening up of wider scope for mutual and regional cooperation.

Lazar Mojsov stressed that everything should be done to make the Balkans a zone of stable peace, friendship, and all-round cooperation.

Minister Mladenov, for his part, assessed that there are no problems that cannot be solved if there is readiness and goodwill on both sides. Also present at the conversation were Federal Secretary for Foreign Affairs Raif Dizdarevic, and Bulgarian Ambassador Stefan Staykov.

Joint Communiqué Issued on Ceausescu Visit
AU171913 Belgrade POLITIKA in Serbo-Croatian
15 Nov 87 p 2

[Text] Belgrade, 14 Nov (TANJUG)—A joint communiqué has been issued at the close of the visit to Yugoslavia by Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and RCP general secretary, which states:

"At the invitation of the SFRY Presidency, Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the SR of Romania and general secretary of the RCP, and his wife paid an official and friendly visit to the SFRY from 12 to 14 November 1987.

Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and general secretary of the RCP, carried out, in a friendly and cordial atmosphere and in a spirit of mutual understanding, openness, and mutual respect, a comprehensive exchange of views on the state and prospects of Yugoslav-Romanian relations, on the possibilities for their promotion, on the socioeconomic development of the two countries, and on the most important international problems.

During the visit, Bosko Kronic, president of the LCY Central Committee Presidium, had talks with Nicolae Ceausescu, general secretary of the RCP and president of the Socialist Republic of Romania. Nicolae Ceausescu also received FEC President Branko Mikulic.

Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania and general secretary of the RCP, also visited the Josip Broz Tito Memorial Center and laid a wreath at the tomb of President Tito.

Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Nicolae Ceausescu, president of the Socialist Republic of Romania, assessed with satisfaction that the traditionally friendly Yugoslav-Romanian relations and cooperation are developing successfully, in a spirit of good-neighborliness, respect, and trust, based on the principles of sovereignty, territorial integrity, equality, mutual benefit, noninterference in internal affairs, and with regard for the differing international positions and separate paths of internal development of the two countries. The lasting foundations of such relations were set out in the meetings of Presidents Josip Broz Tito and Nicolae Ceausescu, and at other top level meetings.

The talks reaffirmed the stances on national minorities that were adopted in joint Yugoslav-Romanian documents and underscored that the national minorities represent a factor of good-neighborly relations and friendly cooperation between the two countries.

The two sides stressed that economic cooperation between the two countries occupies an important place in overall Yugoslav-Romanian relations. Special attention during the talks was devoted to its more intensive development, especially the expansion of all aspects of product cooperation and specialization on a long-term basis.

The importance was reaffirmed of the development and use of hydro-energy and navigation systems at Djerdap, which is the result of joint efforts and cooperation between the two countries.

Drawing attention to the importance of existing agreements on cooperation and specialization, the two sides pointed to the need to extend their validity, and on concluding new mutually beneficial transactions aimed at production at a high technical and technological level, in order to satisfy both one's own needs and those of third markets.

Lazar Majsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu, again on this occasion stressed that the comprehensive development of Yugoslav-Romanian relations, their expansion and continual consolidation, serve the interests of the two countries, international cooperation on an equal footing, and peace and security in the Balkans, in Europe, and further afield.

Lazar Mojsov, president of the SFRY Presidency, and Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu carried out an exhaustive exchange of views on the world situation and expressed identical or close views on a series of the most important international problems.

They noted that the international situation remains complex and contradictory. At the same time, they noted that the present moment is marked by certain positive trends which open up prospects for more stable world relations. Such trends were continued by efforts of the broadest international community, through a broad action in the direction of disarmament, peace, and the struggle for the participation of all countries in resolving global problems. The principled agreement between the USSR and the United States on scrapping medium-range and operational-tactical missiles could have historic significance for a genuine beginning to the process of nuclear disarmament.

Numerous hotbeds of crisis in various parts of the world, the expansion of military conflicts, the deepening of the world economic crisis, in particular the gap between the developed, undeveloped, and developing countries, and the continuing arms race continually threaten peace and security in the world and in particular contribute to the serious exacerbation of the situation in developing countries.

During the talks between Mojsov and Ceausescu, special attention was devoted to the question of consolidating security and cooperation in the Balkans. Underscoring the importance of all the proposals and initiatives for the development of good-neighborly relations, relations in general, and cooperation between the Balkan countries, the two sides stated their readiness for active cooperation in turning the Balkans into a zone of peace, stability, and comprehensive cooperation, without nuclear and chemical weapons. Further, stress was placed on the

importance of the upcoming meeting of the Balkan countries' foreign ministers, which ought to contribute to the consolidation of trust and cooperation between the countries of this region.

While exchanging views on Balkan cooperation, the two presidents reaffirmed the mutual advantage of working on creating conditions for the organization of a Balkan summit.

Cooperation in the Balkans significantly contributes to the consolidation of security and peace in this region, in the Mediterranean, in Europe, and in the world.

Noting that the international economic situation remains extremely difficult and that the gap between developed and developing countries is increasing, the two presidents voted for switching to resolute actions and measures for a global solution to underdevelopment. This includes the settling of the foreign debt of developing countries and the establishment of a new, just, and equal international economic system that would aid a speedier development of all countries, first and foremost the developing ones.

Stress was placed on the positive role of the nonaligned policy as an independent, nonbloc, and global factor in international relations. Acting on the original principles, this policy contributes considerably to the struggle for peace, the free and independent economic and social development of every country, and the development of democratic world relations on an equal footing.

Romanian President Nicolae Ceausescu invited the president of the SFRY Presidency to pay an official visit to the SR of Romania. The invitation was accepted with pleasure. [no closing quotation mark as received]

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